

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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The French Government

BY PROFESSOR OTHON GUERLAC, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

MEMBER OF THE FRENCH HIGH COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES.

The French system of government is marked by the method, logic and clearness that are generally recognized in things French. It offers just enough resemblance with the American system to make it easily intelligible to the school children, and just enough contrasts to impress them with its distinguishing characteristics.

The main points that stand out are the following:

France is a republic and a democracy like the United States. It is founded on universal manhood suffrage, a bicameral system of government, the principle of partial separation of powers, the secular character of the state, the predominance of the will of the majority through the Chamber of Deputies which controls the policies of the Government through the cabinet which emanates from it.

On the other hand, the French Republic, unlike the United States and Switzerland, is a highly centralized government, in which the whole administration, political, judicial, educational and military, receives its impulse from Paris and is represented in the most distant villages by a multitude of officials of all ranks, who receive their cue and get their promotion from the Ministers, their chiefs.

Historically, the present regime of France, known as the Third Republic (the first Republic goes back to 1792, the second to 1848) originated on the 4th of September, 1870, when Emperor Napoleon III was made a prisoner at Sedan by the Germans and his government overthrown. The French Republic has thus lived forty-eight years, which is longer, by at least twenty years, than any regime since the downfall of the Bourbon dynasty.

Still the Republic was at first only a temporary makeshift intended to serve as a provisional shelter while waiting for the restoration of the monarchy which had the preference of a large majority of the deputies of the Assembly elected in 1871.

But the plan for the restoration of a monarchy having fallen through, the Republic was adopted officially in 1875, as the most expedient government, being the one which, in Thiers' words, "divided the French people the least."

Recognized officially in the constitution of 1875 as a Republic, France became in fact a republican and democratic government, administered according to republican doctrines, only in 1879 when Jules Grévy,

a lifelong republican and a lawyer, who began his career in 1848, replaced as president, Marshal MacMahon, a general of strong monarchist leanings, himself the successor of Thiers, who, in turn, was, at best, a recent convert to republicanism. Until then it had been a "Republic without Republicans," according to a formula that is only half true. Then began the Republic run exclusively by republicans. After having established it on a solid foundation the republicans set to work to carry out the complete platform of republican principles, an undertaking that is not finished yet. Meanwhile the constitution which had been drafted by men who would have preferred a monarchy turned out to be a very satisfactory constitution for a republican government.

This government might be best described in its two main aspects: the executive power and the legislative power with a rapid reference to the judiciary and a few remarks on the role of the French centralized system of administration.

I. THE EXECUTIVE POWER.

The Executive part of the Government is represented by the President of the Republic and the Cabinet.

It is on the powers and the role of the French President that emphasis must be laid, because the American public naturally insists on attributing to the French President the importance and powers of the American.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The American President might be said to be nearer the late Tsar or the late Sultan than he is to the President that the Constitution of 1875 has given to France.

The President of France is in fact a duplicate of the last constitutional King that France had under the reign of Louis-Philippe (1830-1848). The men who drafted the constitution had no other model for this function than the constitutional monarchs of France and England, that means a monarch who is more a figurehead than an actual ruler, a monarch who, according to a famous definition of 1830, "reigns but does not govern."

Not that the constitution intended the President to be a figurehead. The constitution granted him a great many powers; only, some of these powers, and the most important, soon fell into disuse. In fact,

the President's powers may be divided into two classes:

The first class is made up of the rights he never or hardly ever uses. Such is the right to initiate bills, to see to the enforcement of the laws, to ask for reconsideration of a law, to negotiate and ratify treaties; the right to dissolve the House (this was done only once, by MacMahon), to summon Parliament on extraordinary occasions, to appoint all public officials, both civil and military, to dispose of the armed forces of the nation and communicate directly with the foreign powers. These are all technical rights which are in fact exercised by the ministers of the Cabinet.

The second class is composed of the actual rights which the President enjoys. He chooses the Prime Minister; but he must take him in the majority. He may allow himself to be re-elected (which happened only with Grévy). He can pardon men sentenced to death. He receives foreign visitors. He addresses messages to Parliament. He presides at public functions. In other words, he exercises merely the prerogatives of a constitutional monarch and those prerogatives which are of a formal nature.

The very election of the French President is in itself sufficient to distinguish his function from that of his American colleague. The French President is elected by what the French themselves call Congress, i.e., the two Houses.

To elect an American President, it takes six months at least of campaigning, agitation, expectation and universal unrest. In France when a President's term expires, the senators and deputies simply repair to Versailles, about twelve miles from Paris, and there, in an afternoon, after one, two, sometimes, three ballots, they elect his successor. It is a matter of a few hours; all the electioneering is done in Paris in the form of a caucus of the different parties which nominate their candidates. The election takes place in the old Palace of Versailles in a hall erected in 1875, the only parliamentary hall that is large enough to seat this electoral body of some 900 voters. Each member goes to the tribune and places his ballot in the box, and that is all there is to the President's election. Generally, the man who is elected is himself among the voters, being almost always a member of the Senate or the House. When the election is over, he goes back to Paris in great state, surrounded by a military escort as befits the President of the Republic. He lives in a beautiful Palace, the "Elysee," and receives a handsome salary which is divided into two parts; 600,000 francs (\$120,000) in compensation for the work expected from him and 600,000 francs to be expended for entertainment and reception; in other words, for what in French is covered by the expression, "frais de représentation."

The role attributed to the President is such that very early some members of the advanced parties began to consider the function as a useless survival of monarchical usage, and called for its absolute suppression; but they have not succeeded. Indeed, the

experience, the moral influence of the President and the part he has to play as spokesman of his country, either in the presence of foreign representatives or in France itself, more than justify his existence. All French Presidents, even the least popular, have exercised a certain action on the policies of the government over which they presided. They do it directly or indirectly. One President, however (Casimir-Périer), finding his power too restricted, resigned rather than renounce the exercise of his full rights.

The Cabinet. The real head of the Government in France, as in England, and, for that matter, in all parliamentary countries, whether republics or monarchies, is the President of the Council, or, as the British say, the "Premier."

The President of the Council directs the Cabinet. It is he who shapes the policies of the Government, defends them before Parliament and sees to the execution of the laws. He is the true executive. He alone can be called to account for the acts of the Government, and even for the acts of the President of the Republic who is irresponsible, except in case of high treason.

The Premier is designated by the President. But the President has very little discretion in his choice; he has to choose him out of the ranks of the majority of the House, and the Premier, in turn, chooses the Ministers who form his Cabinet out of that same majority.

The Ministers are the agents of the Executive power.

They are almost always members of the Parliament. The case of Ministers who were neither Deputies nor Senators is rare enough to be remembered. Two Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Flourens and Hanotaux, several Ministers of War and of the Navy were in that case. During the present war two business men of prominence, MM. Loucheur et Claveille have been chosen likewise outside of the political world.

The role of a Minister is very different from that of Secretary in the American Cabinet. The French Minister does not only administer his department and appoint his officials, he proposes, presents and defends bills, has to answer before the House for all his acts and those of his subordinates. The latter part of his functions is no sinecure. The whole life of a Minister is taken from the moment he rises in the morning until he retires at night by members of Parliament who either besiege him in his office with recommendations or solicitations for their electors or criticize him in the House for measures that they do not approve of. He has very little time to himself; he is always under fire. Even, like the President of the Republic, he has to preside at banquets, dedicate statues and incessantly speak.

The life of the Cabinet as a whole, and of each Minister individually, is at the mercy of a vote in Parliament. Hence, one of the main requisites of a Minister, especially of a Prime Minister, is to be a

ready speaker and a skilful debater; for all the battles are fought in Parliament and against a foe often relentless and always resourceful. He has to be more persuasive, eloquent or skilful than his opponents, for his existence depends on the vote of the House and no minister can survive an adverse vote.

II. THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

The legislative power is vested in the Senate and the House.

The Senate is an assembly of 300 members elected for nine years by a restricted electoral body made up of the members of the municipal, district and departmental assemblies in each department.

Being composed of men who are at least forty years of age, chosen by an electorate which must be of some maturity and experience, the French Senate was intended by the constitution, and has acted in fact, as a check on the lower Chamber. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by absolute universal manhood suffrage for four years only, and is made up of men, some of whom may not be over twenty-five years of age, hence liable to be impulsive and often erratic. The Senate was, in the early years of the Republic, a Chamber of a conservative and almost reactionary character. The war cry of the radical republicans was then as it was for the presidency—*suppress it*. They complained that it was an obstacle to progress. But as new blood entered the Senate, it came to be more and more republican. Many of the radicals who once clamored for its suppression, like Mr. Clemenceau himself, have become members of it, and find it to be a most useful branch of the Legislative power which more than once has corrected some of the hasty bills voted by the Chamber.

The powers of the Senate and the House are not identical. To be sure, both Chambers may vote for bills, either of their own initiative or initiated by the Government. Both may ask questions of the Ministers and interpellate them. Both vote the budget. Both must approve all treaties and vote on the question of war or peace. But the main difference between the House and the Senate is that the former alone can initiate appropriations calling for new taxes, and in spite of one or two instances to the contrary (in the case of a ministry of Leon Bourgeois, in 1896) an adverse vote of the House alone calls for the resignation of the Ministers.

The Senate has two privileges, however, that the Chamber has not. It may dissolve the House at the request of the President, and it may sit as a High Court of Justice in political cases, as it has done several times during the past twenty years and is doing at the present time.

III. THE JUDICIARY.

The Judiciary in the French regime is not a third power on the same level with the executive and the legislative. It is merely one of the branches of the administration like the army, the school system or the public works.

Its organization dates back like practically the whole administrative system of France, to the Constituent Assembly in 1789-91, and was somewhat retouched by Napoleon I, just like the rest of the system.

The French magistracy is not elective; all judges are appointed by the State. The Minister of Justice, or "Guardian of the Seals," as he is called, presides over the whole body of magistrates, as well as over the attorneys of the people or state prosecutors. They are all agents of the state, responsible to it and dependent on it for their promotion. To be sure, the magistrates have a life tenure.

There is a tribunal in every administrative unit above the commune, that is a justice of the peace in every canton, a tribunal of first instance in every arrondissement, a court of assizes in every department and thirty-six courts of appeal in the larger cities.

At the head of the system is a supreme court known as the Court of Cassation which is not, in the least, similar to the American institution; it is competent only to decide whether, in the adjudication of a case, the laws of procedure have been properly followed by the lower tribunals.

In France, the jury system obtains only in certain criminal cases and libel cases. In other words, it exists only in the courts of assizes.

IV. THE ADMINISTRATION.

There is one essential feature of the French Government to which attention must be called if we are to understand how France has managed to remain a powerful, progressive democracy in spite of its many changes of regime and of government. For in one hundred years it has had nine regimes and eleven constitutions, and in the last forty-eight years it has had nearly sixty ministries.

The secret of it all is simply that beneath the superficial changes of governments, France has not ceased to have a permanent, stable and conservative force—the "administration," so called, in other words its civil service of nearly one million officials which has assured the continuity of the traditions and the methods of the state.

While the name of the regime changed, as well as the holders of the great political offices, the real rulers remained, invisible but present, silent but active, intent on carrying on their administrative duties under the Republic as they did under the Empire or the monarchy, under Poincaré or Fallières, as they did under MacMahon or Grévy.

The work of this administration is facilitated by the systematic political organization of France which the Revolution has established and Napoleon has fixed.

It is true that the division of France into departments, districts (arrondissements), cantons and communes was intended by the Revolution to do away with the old feudal divisions which had made of France a vast mosaic of regions of varying size and of conflicting customs, traditions, and allegiance.

But it was also intended to make the country more uniform, more united and more easy to govern, and to give to the central government a better hold on all its citizens, however remote they might be.

The French system is so organized that the State has a representative in every commune of France, and an hour after an order has been given in Paris, it can be carried out in the most distant hamlets, from the Pyrenees to the North Sea. In the department, the state representative is the prefect, in the district the sub-prefect, in the cantons and the communes it is the various judicial, financial, educational officers. Nothing could exceed the regularity, method and system, and sometimes red tape also, that characterize the French administration.

There is something, both accurate and symbolic, in the boast of that Minister of Public Instruction who once stated with pride that he could, at a given moment, tell exactly what lesson all the school children of France were studying. Never had centralization been pushed further.

Taken as a whole, this highly centralized and hundred-year-old administration of France has worked well under the Republic. In spite of all its short-

comings that none has been more eager to denounce and magnify than the French themselves, the government has given to France forty-eight fruitful years. The reconstruction of French finances shattered by the war of 1870, a network of roads, railroads and canals, a system of public schools built in all the villages of the country, a number of social and economic laws, the creation of a vast colonial empire that has proved a great help in the present war, all that has been done by France under the French Republic.

Even the parliamentary interference and omnipotence so much complained of, have not been an un-mixed evil. Parliamentary supervision during this war has proved more than once its utility and the two Houses have been able to supplement or correct most efficiently the views of the military experts, much to the benefit of the country.

A sound French judge of contemporary conditions, Prof. Ch. Seignobos, examining the reforms that the experience of the past four years has shown to be necessary, finds very little fault with the French administration as tested by the experience of war.

The institutions have worked well and stood the test—and that is, after all, a test that counts.

The Deeper Roots of Pan-Germanism

BY JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

It is a trite maxim that we understand the present by the past; but a maxim become so current that we are inclined to take it casually, and to miss the essential significance in the saying. History never repeats itself; but the business of history is very largely the endeavor to put new wine into old bottles.

Modern psychology has disclosed the deep truth that the history of a nation cannot be wholly understood by understanding its political, economic, social and esthetic development; that national psychology has often, in last analysis, been the determining factor in a nation's evolution, and that those things which once were believed to be primary and constructive factors, in reality have been only resultants in its development; that they have not determined so much as they have been determined by the deeper psychological forces within the mind of the nation.

German political thinking is naturally and historically imperialistic in its form. The whole tradition of the nation has been that way since early medieval times. Pan-Germanism traces its roots far back into the past. After making all due allowance for the changes between medieval and modern history, it yet remains true, in a very positive sense, that the present German Empire and the present program of German imperialism is the lineal descendant of the medieval empire both morally and politically.

The roots of the present German Empire are to be found in the political theory and the historical prac-

tices of Germany in the Middle Ages. Their point of origin goes back to the establishment of the medieval empire by Charlemagne in 800. The German crown and the German dynasties of the Middle Ages—Saxon, Salian, Hohenstaufen, Habsburg—were the heirs of the rights, authority, ascriptions and dignity of the Carolingian empire. The Holy Roman Empire which Otto the Great restored after the break-up of the Charlemagnic state in the ninth century was the offspring of the political creation of the great Charles.

This is the thesis of Viscount Bryce in "The Holy Roman Empire," a work too much lost sight of today, and which will well repay examination in the light of present events. The monarch who in the Middle Ages was more than German and less than Roman, in whom two "persons" were united, in the nineteenth century emerged as German Emperor, somewhat different, it is true, from either of the former, with new claims, aspirations and attributes superadded to the old.

In the interpretation of the present Imperial German Constitution there is a disposition in most quarters to assume that the emperor (Deutscher Kaiser) is supreme War Lord in virtue of his office of emperor, and the letter of the constitution may seem to sustain this opinion. But the record of history is a palimpsest. Below the gloss, in the very fibres of the parchment of German history, one may discern traces of

the persistence of primitive Germanic institutions under a modern guise.

I do not think it a stretch of imagination to say that in the recognition of the Kaiser as supreme War Lord, we have the persistence of the idea of the ancient German *comitatus*, or war-band, still. In proof of this contention I would like to refer the reader to a work published in 1910. Mr. H. C. W. Davis gave it a brief notice in the *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII, page 140, but did not take it as serious history. In the light of present events and conditions it seems to me that there is ground for closer examination of this brochure. It is by Edmund E. Stengel, and bears the ringing title, *Den Kaiser macht das Heer*—The Army makes the Kaiser.¹

In this work Stengel shows how the primitive German *comitatus* was gradually fused with the essentially military character of the Roman imperial authority to form the medieval emperor. He contends that the office of Herzog underlay the authority of both German king and Holy Roman Emperor all through the medieval period, and that while the theories of ancient Roman imperialism and medieval ecclesiasticism may have obscured, they did not efface this primitive German prerogative.

In proof of his argument Stengel has re-read the sources of the Saxon, Franconian and Hohenstaufen epochs, and derived new values from them. He claims, upon the statement of Widukind of Corvei, that the sovereignty of Otto I was consecrated, not by the coronation of 962, but by the acclaim of the German army in 955, on the battlefield of Augsburg.² The same conception appears in the Hohenstaufen period in Otto of Freising and other writers of the twelfth century, for whom the coronation of Charlemagne is nothing but a confirmation of power already vested in the German king and Roman emperor as supreme military commander. Certain of the publicists of the fourteenth century, notably Lupold of Bebenburg (bishop of Bamberg, 1297-1303) and Henry of Hervord, a Dominican of Minden (died 1370), declared, in opposition to the papacy, that the military power of Charlemagne was the *ratio ultima* of his sovereignty.³

One finds this conception consecrated by a formula of the *Sachsenspiegel*, in a gloss of the commentator Johann von Buch, who founded the imperial law on power.⁴ The king, he argued, was elected to the kingship, but imperial authority was fundamentally a war power! *Dat keiserrike irwirvet hei mit stride!* Stengel finds the origin of this formula of Von Buch in the phrase, "exercitus imperatorem facit," embodied in the Code of Gratian, but derived from an epistle of St. Jerome.⁵ According to this argumentation the emperor owed his authority to his sword and the army back of him; the army was the political people.

In the high feudal age the Holy Roman Empire possessed actual suzerainty over Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, the two Burgundies, Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, and a theoretical overlordship over

France, Spain, England, the Scandinavian countries and Byzantium.⁶

National feeling never has been a strong or permanent sentiment in the hearts of the German people. In the Middle Ages they were an agglomeration of tribes—Saxon, Frank, Bavarian, Swabian, etc.—of a common blood, language, institutions, but actuated nevertheless by strong tribal feeling, the particularistic effects of which are easily traced and apparent to-day, not only in the sharp difference between North and South Germany, but in the difference between individual groups within these larger circumstances. In the North the distinction between the Prussian and the Saxon is manifest; and the same observation may be made in the South, in the distinction between the Swabian and the Bavarian.

At certain crises, as in 1813 and again in 1870, these inherited tribal differences have been neutralized by a larger sentiment, and something like a national sentiment manifested. *But in the main it remains true that Germany always has been, and still is, imperialistic and not national, in its political theory, its psychology, its past history and its present policy.*

German political thinking always has been more imperialistic than national. National self-consciousness is new in German history, no older than 1813, when something like a spontaneous insurrection of the German peoples (I use the plural advisedly) was made against Napoleon. The same phenomenon was seen during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, when for the first time, and permanently, a strong sense of German nationalism was infused in the older German imperialism.

In medieval times the Germans always thought of themselves either as tribal (perhaps one might better say national) groups, Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians, etc., or as citizens of the Holy Roman Empire.⁷ National consciousness was weak among them. The word *Deutsch* was applied only to the German language, and not to the German people until the eleventh century, and even then was infrequent.⁸ The term "*patria Teutonica*" first occurs in 1079.

When the German peoples thought of themselves at all in other than tribal terms they thought imperially. This was the result of the imposition upon them of the Carolingian political ideal. A vague and traditional desire for universal empire is at the root of German history and German political psychology. Medieval recognition of the empire as "a great tradition and a present necessity"⁹ was mingled with a European contempt and hatred of the Germans. *Quis Teutonicos iudices nationum?* Who made the Germans judges of the nations? exclaimed John, of Salisbury, in the twelfth century.¹⁰ Otto I, Otto III, Henry III, Henry IV, Frederick Barbarossa each claimed to be the new Charlemagne, as the Kaiser does to-day. If history had preserved the speeches of Frederick Barbarossa it would be discovered that those of the Kaiser have a remarkable resemblance to them. As it is, we have enough information upon Frederick I

to know that the parallelism between the medieval and the modern Kaiser is a close one. Their aims, their pretensions, their utterances are all similar.

Naturally, with this tremendous political preponderance and territorial sway over the centre of Europe—greater than to-day—interest in the ways and manners of the German nation bulked large in the mind of the rest of Europe.

The physical and moral characteristics of the German people received interested attention from their neighbors in the Middle Ages, for the reason that the German kings as Holy Roman Emperors, and the German nation, as the seat of that empire and heir of the historical traditions and the imprescriptible rights and privileges derived both from ancient Roman imperialism and from Charlemagne, exercised an international sway in Europe.

As specimens of physical manhood, the medieval German, like the ancient German,¹¹ was tall and strong, and even handsome, on the word of his enemies. In the Middle Ages, when a man was unusually tall, he was taken for a German.¹² The *chansons de geste* frequently allude to the tallness of the Germans.¹³ A proverb ran that the prettiest women were to be found in Flanders, the handsomest men in Germany, the tallest men in Denmark. William of Apulia speaks of the high stature of the Germans he saw in Italy.¹⁴ Albert of Aix, who met with Germans on the crusade, represents them as handsome of face and figure.¹⁵ When the bishop of Bamberg went to Palestine in 1065 his beauty made such an impression that the people ran to see him, and even routed him out of his lodgings that they might behold him.¹⁶ Adalbert of Bremen and his great political rival, Hanno of Cologne, were both remarkably handsome men.¹⁷ A Saxon historian, in relating the massacre of a company of warriors under command of Burkhard of Halberstadt, the fiercest fighting bishop of his century, expresses astonishment that men of such physical perfection could have been overcome.¹⁸ Bishop Udo of Trier, and Bruno, a successor of the same see, both were men of singular physical comeliness.¹⁹ Abbot Guntram was tall, strikingly handsome and with a melodious voice which yet could ring like a trumpet.²⁰ William, abbot of Braunweiler, was so handsome that one might think him an angel.²¹

The German warriors in the Middle Ages gloried in their physical strength and beauty. The Monk of St. Gall in the ninth century tinged with romance the army of Charlemagne which conquered the Lombards of Italy in 772.²² The same author relates these stories of one of Charlemagne's doughtiest warriors, a man of Thurgau named Eishere, "who, as his name implies, was a great part of a terrible army, and so tall that you might have thought him sprung from the race of Anak, if they had not lived so long ago and so far away.

"Whenever he came to the river Dura and found it swollen and foaming with the torrents from the mountains, and could not force his huge charger to enter the stream (though stream I must not call it, but melted ice), then he would seize the reins and

force his horse to swim through *behind* him, saying, 'Nay, by Saint Gall, you must come, whether you like it or not.' Well, this man followed the emperor and mowed down the Bohemians and Wiltzes and Avars as a man might mow down hay; and spitted them on his lance like birds. When he came home the sluggards asked him how he had got on in the country of the Winides; and he, contemptuous of some and angry with others, replied: 'Why should I have bothered with those tadpoles? I used sometimes to spit seven or eight or nine of them on my spear and carry them about with me squealing in their gibberish.'"²³

Before the battle of Civitate in 1053, the German knights in the papal army derided their Norman adversaries for their small stature—and Normans passed for tall men in Europe then.²⁴ In 1107, when the envoys of Henry V of Germany and those of the pope met at Châlons-sur-Marne to discuss the peace of the church, the physical beauty and hauteur of the German ambassadors, especially of Archbishop Bruno of Trier and Duke Welf of Bavaria, deeply impressed the French. The elegance of figure, the pleasantness of demeanor, the natural eloquence and good sense of the archbishop aroused the admiration of Abbot Suger of St. Denis, the French king's chief envoy. But the big, burly figure, loud voice and ubiquitous sword of Duke Welf nettled him.²⁵

As to the bravery of the Germans in the Middle Ages opinion is unanimous. At Civitate they fought to the last man. Albert of Aix, a hard critic of them in the time of the Crusades, never belies their courage. Across the annals of medieval Germany the record of their feats of arms abounds on every page. In 1044 a little troop of Germans under Henry III opposed a whole Hungarian army on the Repcze.²⁶ In 1050 a handful of Germans withheld the fortress of Hainburg against attack after attack of Hungarians.²⁷ In 1060 a combat took place between two German knights and a whole host of Hungarians in the narrow defile of Theben, the famous gateway from Austria into Hungary which has a Homeric ring about it.

The Germans had been intercepted in the pass and badly routed. William, the margrave of Thuringia, and a German knight named Poto bravely covered the rear and put up such a resistance that if Germany at this time had been as sensitive to romantic impulses as France, the memory of their feat of arms would have rung down the ages like the *Chanson de Roland*. "For these two," runs the *Annals of Altenheim*, "when the others were slain, took their stand upon a knoll and laid about them with such slaughter that the deeds of the very bravest men of former ages seem small in comparison. From evening until sunrise, standing back to back and facing the foe on every side, they fought, nor could they be overcome even by the thousands against them. They refused to surrender until King Bela [of Hungary] gave his word of honor to spare them."

Ever afterwards Poto was known as "the Brave." Forty years later the German chronicler Ekkehard wrote of him: "Truly was he believed to have sprung

from the race of ancient giants." As for the courageous margrave, Bela offered him his daughter in marriage.²⁸ In 1115, Count Otto of Ballenstadt, with sixty German warriors, fought 2,800 Slavs, of whom 1,700 were left dead on the field.²⁹

The *chansons de geste* abound with gallant appreciation by the French of the bravery of the Germans.³⁰ Bernard of Clairvaux, when urging the Second Crusade upon the Germans, wrote to the archbishop of Cologne and other prelates of Germany: "Your land is fruitful in brave men, and is known to be full of robust youth, your praise is in the whole world, and the fame of your valor has filled the entire earth."³¹

The Italians, like the Slavs, were not capable of militarily resisting the Germans. This is admitted by medieval Italian historians time and again.³² The German rule of Italy was not successfully resisted until the Lombard victory at Legnano in 1179. In battle French and Italian chroniclers agreed that their strength, courage and ferocity was so great that the Germans could neither be reduced nor disarmed.³³ "In battle they are men of iron," said an Italian annalist.³⁴ Falco of Beneventum, and Suger of France, both compared the shouting of the Germans in battle to the roaring of lions.³⁵

Fire, massacre, spoliation were³⁶ the usual concomitants of war in medieval, as in ancient and modern times, and there is little to choose between the warring nations in the Middle Ages in these particulars. But the German belief that "money talks" and the power of gold to influence or corrupt, was proverbial.³⁷ German avarice was as notorious as German prowess. "Terra bellicosa et quoeuosa" was said of medieval Germany.

War was made to pay; pillage was reduced to a system. While Henry V was being crowned in St. Peter's his German guards stripped the Italian clergy present of their vestments and their jewels.³⁸ Every German expedition into Italy, in Saxon, Salian and Hohenstaufen days was a razzia. The spoil out of Italy enriched Saxon Germany.³⁹ Lombardy especially, because of the commercial prosperity of its towns, was heavily taxed.⁴⁰ Rather of Verona⁴¹ and Otto of Vercelli bitterly inveighed against the brutality, violence, spoliation practiced continually by the Germans upon the Italians.⁴² The complaints of Italy in the Middle Ages against these practices are repeated century after century.⁴³

By the fifteenth century the practice of making war pay had crystallized into a system with the Germans. It was the "Raubritterthum." Commynes observed its workings with surprise and dismay.⁴⁴ Perhaps we may see in all this the persistence of a racial trait across the centuries. In a famous passage in Tacitus one may read how during the revolt of Civilis in Belgica, he promised liberty to the Gauls, glory to the Batavians, and booty to the Germans. "Gallos pro libertate, Batavos pro gloria, Germanos ad praedam."

During the Crusades there was much friction be-

tween the French and the German troops. Godfrey de Bouillon, who was half French and half German, and who had imbibed a large amount of the courtesy of French chivalry, is said to have apologized to the French for the uncouth manners of the Germans in the host of the First Crusade.⁴⁵ Odon of Deuil has a long passage denunciatory of the Germans in the Second Crusade.⁴⁶

The Byzantine Greeks, who saw much of the Germans, both in southern Italy and Constantinople, detested them.⁴⁷ Luitprand of Cremona's account of his embassy to the court of the Emperor Nicephorus is among the wittiest documents we have. He frankly tells what the Greeks thought of the Germans, nor does he conceal his own opinion of them.

Medieval Europe did not love the Germans.⁴⁸ The Slavs feared them,⁴⁹ the Italians hated them, the French admitted their courage, but detested their manners. Rodolph Glaber, a Burgundian monk of the tenth century, described Germany as a land of confused nations of unheard-of ferocity.⁵⁰

German speech and German manners are the butt of French ridicule in the chansons. They are "pute gent," "gent defface," "laide gent."⁵¹ Eustache Deschamps declared that the Germans learned to speak the language of other nations because no one could—or would—speak theirs;⁵² Napoleon said the same of both the Dutch and the Russians. A Mohammedan traveler in Germany early in the eleventh century said that the dialect of Schleswig sounded like the growling of dogs.⁵³

French epic literature is subtly satirical in mentions of Germans. The *Ecbasis* and the *Ysengrinus*, which are interesting bestiaries, give French names to the finer kinds of animals and German names to the wolf, the ass, etc. The wolf in the *Ysengrinus* questions the lamb in German speech.⁵⁴

By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the anti-German literature in Europe was very large. By this time, says one, "there was a general haro. In France, in Italy, in England, in the Slav countries the Germans were denounced and hated."⁵⁵ To the Italian, the German was a "porco tedesco;" to the Frenchman, that "Alement ord." Froissart⁵⁶ has a well known invective of the Germans in the fourteenth century, which is echoed by Commynes in the fifteenth.

The roots of the sentiment are very old. Before the year 1000 the manners and language of the Germans had incurred the resentment of the rest of Europe.⁵⁷ But the sentiment was different in different countries. The French, who were a free and strong nation, despised the Germans. The Italians, on the other hand, who for over three hundred years were held down under the German heel, hated them. But commingled with this hate was a feeling of wounded pride which was the reminiscence of the vanished grandeur of ancient Italy.

Benedict of Soracte, in 966, in crabbed medieval Latin, pronounces a threnody over Rome in the hard grip of Otto I. "Woe unto thee, O Rome, who art

oppressed and trodden under foot by so many nations; who hast even been taken prisoner by a Saxon king, and thy people put to the sword, and thy strength reduced to naught, Thy gold and thy silver they carry away in their purses. Thou wast mother, now thou hast become daughter. Thou hast lost that which thou once possesst. Long hast thou fought against foreign foes. On all sides thou didst once conquer the world from the North unto the South. . . . Thou wast all too fair." ⁵⁸

Pope Pascal II refused to set foot in Germany, alleging "the barbarous manners of the people." ⁵⁹ During the great rebellion of the Lombard cities against Frederick Barbarossa something approaching a national spirit was born in North Italy. We catch the refrain of wounded pride in Buoncompagno's history of the siege of Ancona in 1174, ⁶⁰ in the fiery addresses of the Lombard deputies and the pope in 1177, as recorded by Romuald of Salerno. ⁶¹ Northern Italy especially never submitted to German rule except under duress and with protest. The conflict of the Lombard cities against Frederick Barbarossa between 1155 and 1183 liberated the Po Valley from the German thrall. But not until 1200 was the German influence expelled from the administration of Rome, then from the Tuscan towns and the Marches, by Pope Innocent III.

While the Italians, in common with all Europe, "recognized in the empire a great tradition and a present necessity," ⁶² it galled both the French and the Italians that the sceptre of Charlemagne had passed into German hands, and the French kings in especial made continual pretensions to the imperial crown.

German rule over Italy was strong for centuries, but the Germans never were able to impose their civilization upon the country. Germanic *Kultur* never was anything but a gloss in medieval Italy. The remnants and the tradition of Latin culture were far too old and too strong to be dislodged or obscured. ⁶³

It is a widely prevalent belief that Pan-Germanism is a new idea, no older—not as old—as the present German Empire. In a direct sense this is so. But in a truer and deeper sense the idea of Pan-Germanism, like the idea of German imperialism itself, is as old as the Middle Ages.

The Mitteleuropa, or Pan-German, program may be said to have three parts or purposes: (1) To dominate the Balkan peninsula and the Old East; (2) to dominate the non-German, i.e., Slavonic and Magyar peoples which border upon Germany, especially those lying in the huge isthmus, as it may be called, between the Baltic and the Black Sea; (3) to make the Baltic a German lake.

It remains, in the ensuing paragraphs, to show how close is the alignment between modern Pan-Germanism and the political ideas and policy of some of the medieval German emperors.

From the time when Charlemagne was crowned in 800, the Byzantine Empire ever felt umbrage towards the western empire for what it regarded as

an illegal claim to be the heir of the ancient Roman Empire, and the feeling was not improved by the tart reply of Louis II in 871 to Basil, that "the race of the Germans has brought forth the most abundant fruits to the Lord. But the Lord spoke of you when He said: 'The kingdom shall be taken from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.' For as God was able of stones to raise up children unto Abraham, so from the barbarism of the Germans He has been able to raise up successors to the Roman emperors." ⁶⁴

When, a century later, political expediency made a marriage alliance desirable between Otto II and the Byzantine princess Theophano, the issue of that marriage, Otto III, actually dreamed of uniting East and West, of combining Germany and Italy with Byzantium to form a new Roman Empire with well-nigh universal rule. So early as the year 1000 the madness of Cæsarism was working in the blood of medieval German sovereigns.

Frederick Barbarossa seized upon the Third Crusade in 1190 as a means to extend German domination not only over the Holy Land and Syria, but Byzantium, too. When his crusading host entered the territory of the Byzantine Empire it was compelled to fight its way through. In Bulgaria the inhabitants fled on all sides at the German approach, obstructing the roads with fallen trees. It was necessary to take Trajan's Pass by assault. When the German army arrived at Philippopolis they found the city deserted. ⁶⁵ Frederick, in wrath, deluged the environs with fire and blood, and seriously contemplated attacking Constantinople. He wrote to his son Henry to attempt to persuade the pope to preach a crusade against the Greeks. ⁶⁶

Henry VI gave sharper definition to his father's purposes. He demanded an indemnity from Constantinople for the injury inflicted upon Frederick's army. When the Byzantine emperor, Isaac Angelus, soon afterward was dethroned by his brother Alexis III in 1195, Henry VI's attitude became more menacing. He adroitly married Irene, a daughter of the exiled emperor, to his brother, Philip of Swabia, hoping thus to create a German pretext to claim the throne of the Eastern Empire.

At the same time that he planned to conquer Constantinople, Henry VI also dreamed of establishing his sovereignty over Syria and Palestine, and began that policy which later under his son Frederick II was to transfer to the Holy Land the feud of emperor and pope. The conquests of western Christendom in the Orient hitherto had been considered to be the patrimony of the church. But Barbarossa's lawyers developed the theory that there could be only one supreme and universal authority in the world, that of the German Cæsar.

While one expedition, therefore, was sent to Palestine, Henry VI himself in 1197 undertook the task of conquering Byzantium. His sudden death in September of that year ruined the double plan. For the second time Constantinople and the Orient eluded the

attempt of the Hohenstaufen to seize them. Henry VI's sudden death ruined the prospects of German imperial power in Constantinople and the East. While his brother Philip of Swabia was preparing to carry out his designs upon the Golden Horn, Venice stepped in (1204) and seized Constantinople for herself, where her power lasted until its overthrow by a Byzantine revolution in 1261.

But if Hohenstaufen possession of Constantinople was thus thwarted by Venice, that over the Holy Land still remained possible through another crusade. On March 17, 1229, Frederick II entered Jerusalem, and the next day, the third Sunday in Lent, without any religious ceremony, placed the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem upon his head and proclaimed himself king. The oration was pronounced by Hermann Salza, the grand-master of the Teutonic Order of Knights, in German and French. The policy of Barbarossa and Henry VI, for the moment, seemed triumphant in the Orient, even if it had failed in Constantinople. But the gigantic Mongol invasion and the failure of the crusades, ruined the hopes of permanence.

In the meantime, although the Hohenstaufen attempt to seize Constantinople had failed, German outposts were established along the lower course of the Danube, upon the flank of the Byzantine state. After the conversion of the Hungarians the kings of Hungary labored to induce immigration into their land from the more civilized lands to the west, and many Bavarian and Swabian colonists were settled in Hungary in the eleventh century. In the twelfth, when the rich mineral resources in Transylvania, which the Romans had once worked, were re-discovered, there was a large influx of Saxon miners from the Harz, where the rough mining camps gradually grew into the German-named towns of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt in the corner of southeastern Europe, beyond the borders of the Magyar kingdom and hard by the edge of the Eastern Empire.

The peculiar instrument of German power in this region, though, was the Teutonic Order. Transylvania was exposed to Tatar attack from southern Russia by the Kumans, a half nomad tribe, so that King Andrew II of Hungary granted lands in Transylvania to the knights in return for their defense of the land.

The order took up the work with zeal. The Kumans were driven back and strong fortresses were erected along the border, whose ruins may still be seen. German colonists were summoned and settled under the protection of these castles. The knights began to extend their authority over the Carpathians into the territory of the Kumans and Wallachians. Becoming bolder, they even took possession of the Hungarian crown lands and built their castles upon them. In the end the Teutonic Knights had to be expelled by force of arms by the king of Hungary in 1225.

Thus terminated the history of German imperial designs in southeastern Europe and Palestine in the

Middle Ages, to be revived and changed to meet modern conditions in Pan-Germanism of to-day.

But in the north, in the Baltic lands and Russia in the medieval period, the imperialistic ambitions of the German people made almost uninterrupted progress from the tenth to the fifteenth century. The expansion of Germany towards the northeast was far more successful and far more permanent than its expansion in the lower southeast of Europe. Its history is a long chapter, or rather a series of chapters, in the medieval relations between the Germans and the Slavs, all of whose tribes, except the Poles and Bohemians, finally disappeared in the struggle.

This long and bitter conflict of Teuton and Slav was an irrepressible conflict in which race supremacy, religion, language, trade, customs and land to live in were the issues. The German state and the German church worked hand in glove. On the part of the Germanic peoples the struggle became a gigantic series of predatory expeditions, missionary campaigns propagated by the sword and colonizing enterprises within the Slavonic land. We can discover the beginnings of this *Drang nach Osten* as far back as Charlemagne. But it was with the Saxon kings that the "drive" became a permanent policy, to be continued under Salian and Hohenstaufen.

Three times the Germans crossed the Elbe, and three times were thrown back by the Slav tribes, in 982, in 1018, in 1066. Gradually, as a Saxon chronicler puts it, "the Slav failed in the land."⁶⁷ By the middle of the twelfth century Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, Pomerania had been conquered and colonized by the victorious German people. The German frontier had been pushed from the Elbe to the Oder. The Poles and Bohemians, more fortunate than the Wilzi, Obodrites and other broken and vanished Slavonic tribes, were able to preserve their national integrity, though compelled to pass under German overlordship.

For about seventy-five years the Vistula River remained the boundary between the expanding German and the shrinking Slavonic world. Then, early in the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Knights, having no longer a field in the Holy Land, and driven out of Hungary, found a new field of conquest, in 1231, in Prussia.

By 1346 their rule extended clear to the Gulf of Finland. Prussia, Courland, Livonia and Esthonia were conquered in succession. As each region was conquered a fortress was built to enforce obedience and to serve as a base for further operations; that of Marienburg, to-day the property of the Hohenzollern house, is a conspicuous example of such a castle. German settlers were introduced to colonize and redeem the devastated lands. The energy of the knights in building towns was remarkable. By 1400 they had 93 cities, the most important of which were Riga and Reval.

The decline of the Order began with the union of Poland and Lithuania in 1387 and the acceptance of Christianity by the Lithuanians. The inhabitants

had no part in the government and had lost faith in the "missionary" professions of the Order. In 1410 the army of the Knights was badly defeated by the Poles at Tannenberg, near the same spot where Hindenburg so terribly routed the Russians in 1914. Finally, in the sixteenth century, the rise of Russia under Ivan the Terrible and Sweden under the house of Vasa, nearly ruined the Teutonic Knights. Most of their territories were lost between 1558 and 1561. Livonia was annexed to Poland, Esthonia to Sweden, Osel to Denmark, and the residue to Russia, except that Master Gotthard Kettler became hereditary Duke of Courland and Semgallen, and the Hohenzollern retained Prussia.

Simultaneously with the spread of German domination around the bight of the Baltic by the Teutonic Knights, and the establishment of German political power in Prussia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Livonia and Courland in the thirteenth century, went also the extension of German trade activities over the Baltic lands.

The conquest of Mecklenburg and Pomerania from the Slavs in the twelfth century had given the Germans control of the mouths of the German rivers, and Lübeck at the mouth of the Trave, Stettin at the mouth of the Peene, Wollin at the mouth of the Oder, and Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula, became not only outlets for the interior trade of Germany, but *points d'appui* whence German trade dominion was extended over the whole Baltic.

As early as the first half of the twelfth century there was a colony of German merchants established under the German king's protection, on the island of Gothland, who trafficked with the Russians for furs and peltry, and got from them also Oriental wares and stuffs from Constantinople, which were brought via the famous Varangian route from the Bosphorus and the Black Sea to Novgorod.

Between 1290 and 1300 these cities of north Germany began to unite together for purposes of mutual protection and commercial advantage, and in this wise the Hanseatic League was formed in the fourteenth century, with Lübeck as its capital. Bremen, Hamburg and all other cities situated at the mouths of the German rivers, as well as many inland ones, entered the League.

It was not long before the Hanseatic League began to reach out for a monopoly of the Baltic commerce. The merchant colony at Wisby in Gothland was forced to become a member, and the towns established by the Teutonic Knights, like Riga and Reval, soon saw the advantage of joining it. The coils of the Hanseatic League were wrapped around Denmark so tightly that the kingdom practically lost its independence; the League occupied its ports and controlled the straits, notably the Sund.

The Hanseatic League soon began to spread its net of commercial control over the whole north of Europe, and by its sea-power largely succeeded in so doing. It established "factories," or trading-posts, at Novgorod in Russia, Bergen in Norway, at Bruges in

Flanders, and at London. In the case of the two latter places it could not contravene the laws of the counts of Flanders and the kings of England; nevertheless, the League enjoyed large commercial privileges there. But in Scandinavia and Russia there was no political power capable of withstanding their high-handed operations, and for years the Hanseatic League was both the dominant commercial and political power in these countries.

The acquisition of Flanders by the French dukes of Burgundy, the gradual economic assimilation of the country with France, and finally the rise of Antwerp at last weakened the grasp of the Hanseatic League in Belgium. In England the League began to lose its hold in the late fifteenth century, when the accession of the strong Tudor house curtailed its privileges, and the English commercial association of the Merchant Adventurers began to cut into its profits. In Scandinavia, however, the power of the Hanseatic League was not broken until the rise of the powerful national house of Vasa, on the verge of the Reformation; and in Russia its power endured till modern Russia began to be formed by Ivan the Terrible in the sixteenth century.

By the seventeenth century the Hanseatic League had shrunk to the proportions of a local North German commercial association. One by one its cities were absorbed by the various German states, except Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg, which even Napoleon spared as free cities, and which to-day are city-states within the German Empire.

No one who knows the medieval and early modern history of the Hanseatic League can doubt that the rise of modern Germany's over-sea commercial ambition has been potently influenced by the history of the Hanseatic League. In modern Hamburg and Bremen the medieval commercial pre-eminence of these same cities has had rebirth. The fleets of the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American ship companies had their forebears in the merchant ships of the Hanseatic League, which once covered the waters of the Baltic and the North Sea. The German colonies, as bases for the procuring of raw materials, found their prototypes in the "factories" at Novgorod and Bergen, which in the fourteenth century were situated in backward and half barbarian countries.

It is not so far a cry as it seems from the hopes, aspirations, ambitions, policies, purposes, psychology of medieval Germany to the Germany of to-day. The age of the Hohenstaufen was "the Day" of medieval Germany.

No people ever wholly forgets its past. Modern Pan-Germanism is the lineal descendant of the memory of Germany's imperial sway in the Middle Ages. Frederick Barbarossa's crusade, Henry VI's projected conquest of Constantinople, Frederick II's claims to the East, the conquests of the Teutonic Knights in Russia and Poland, the commercial domination of the Hanseatic League in the Baltic and the North Sea for so many years—all these modern Germany regards as part of her historic heritage.

NOTES TO PRECEDING ARTICLE.

¹ "Studien zur Geschichte eines politischen Gedankens." Weimar, 1910, pp. xxvii, 110. It is a *Festschrift* presented to Karl Zeumer.

² Rex factus gloriosus, ab exercitu pater patriae imperatorque appellatus est—Bk. III, ch. 49. If the alleged charter of Archbishop Robert, of Trier, dated within a month after the battle of the Lechfeld, is genuine, in which Otto I is styled *gloriosus rex et imperator*, it is striking confirmation of Widukind. But Dümmler and Giesebrecht both doubt its genuineness.

³ On Lupold, see Lorenz, "Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen," 317-19 (edition 1870); for Henry of Hervord, see Ibid, 123-26. Other literature in Potthast.

⁴ See Schulte, "Deutsche Staats-und Rechtsgesch." sec. 62.

⁵ The phrase in this form was a gross perversion of the original phraseology. What Jerome said was that the bishops of the early church were elected *quomodo si exercitus faciat imperatorem*.

⁶ Waitz, "Deutscherfassungs-geschichte," V, 134-35, and Gierke, "Political Theories of the Middle Ages," trans. Maitland, note 56, pp. 126-27, have collected the sources.

⁷ See "Thietmar of Merseburg's Chronicon," II, 28.

⁸ Waitz, "Deutscherfassungs-gesch." V, 8, 132; Gerdes, "Gesch. d. deutsch. Volkes," I, 354; Grimm, "Deutsch. Gram.," I, 15.

⁹ Herbert Fisher, "The Medieval Empire," II, 255.

¹⁰ "Epist. ed. Giles," I, 164.

¹¹ The Suevi mocked at the small height of Caesar's troops—*De bello gall.*, II, 30. For Roman appreciations of the Germans physically, Tacitus, *Annales*, II, 14; Josephus, *Antiq.*, I, 15.

¹² Tobler, "Mitth. aus altfranz. Handschriften," I, 23.

¹³ Zimmermann, "Romanische Forschungen," XXIX, 235 f. (1911).

¹⁴ Bk. II, c. 5, SS. IX, 255.

¹⁵ "History," Bk. I.

¹⁶ Lambert, of Hersfeld, "Annals," Anno 1065.

¹⁷ Adam, of Bremen, "Gesta Hammab. eccles. pontif," III, 2; Lambert, of Hersfeld, 1075.

¹⁸ "Annal. Sax." 1088, SS. V, 724.

¹⁹ "Gesta Trever.," c. 9, c. 18.

²⁰ "Rodulf," I, c. 5, SS. X, 231.

²¹ "Vita Wolfhelmi," c. 4, SS. XII, 183.

²² "Monachus sangal.," II, 17.

²³ Ibid, II, 12.

²⁴ "Guill. Apul.," II, c. 5.

²⁵ Suger, "Vita Lud. Crassi," c. 9, ed. Molinier, p. 27.

²⁶ "Annal. Altah.," Anno 1044.

²⁷ Ibid, Anno 1050.

²⁸ This famous day is described by many chroniclers: "Annal. Altah.," 1060; "Berth Annal.," 1060; Lambert, "Annal.," 1060; Ekkehard, "Chron.," 1104.

²⁹ "Annal. Sax.," 1115.

³⁰ See the passages collected by Zimmermann, "Roman. Forsch.," XXIX (1911), 236 ff.

³¹ Bernh. Clarv. Ep., 363; Otto, "Fris. De gestis Friederici," I, 41.

³² "Amatus of Monte Cass.," VII, 12; "Annal. Sax.," 1137. For larger treatment of German rule in Italy in Middle Ages, see my article in July, 1918, *American Journal of Theology*, on "Church and State in Medieval Germany."

³³ Ekkehard, "Chron.," 1099, 1117; Suger, H. F., XII, 21; Odilon, "Epith. Adelh.," c. 4, SS. IV, 639.

³⁴ "Bened. Chron.," c. 36, SS. III, 710. Cf. Brunon, "Vita Adalb.," c. 10, SS. IV, 599.

³⁵ "Falc. Benev.," II, 225; Suger, H. F., XII, 21.

³⁶ "Der Brand ziert den Krieg wie das Magnificat die Vesper," said Albert Achilles, of Hohenzollern, who in 1449 burned 200 villages. ["Fire is to war what the Magnificat is to Vespers."]

³⁷ Otto, "Fris. Gesta Frid.," III, c. 21; Adam, "Brem.," IV, c. 21; Bertholdi, "Annal.," 1077; Bertholdi, "Zwifalt. Chron.," c. 44.

³⁸ "Gesta abbat. Trudon.," X, c. 1.

³⁹ "Roswitha ad Oddonem," I, verse 6.

⁴⁰ "Annal. Palid.," 955; "Annal. S. Desibodi.," SS. XVII, 29; "Benzo," I, cc. 5-6; III, c. 1; Jaffé, "Biblioth.," III, 691; "Annal. Qued.," 1014.

⁴¹ "Folc. Gesta abbat. Lob.," c. 27.

⁴² "Polypt.," c. 11.

⁴³ "Ryccardus," SS. XIX, 334; "Annal. Ver.," Ibid, 10; Otto Morena, Ibid, XVIII, 619.

⁴⁴ "Mémoires," V, 18.

⁴⁵ Wackernagel, "Altfranz. Lieder und Leiche," 194-5, but I cannot trace his reference.

⁴⁶ Bk. 3. For collected information on this head, see Steinhausen, "Gesch. der deutsch. Kultur," 238.

⁴⁷ "Luitpr. Crem. Legatio."

⁴⁸ See an interesting article by Steinhausen, "Deutsche Rundschau," December, 1909; January, 1910.

⁴⁹ For German contempt of the Slavs, see "Fredeg. Chron.," IV, 68; "Mon. Sangall.," 11, 12; Thietmar, "Chron.," III, 17; "Adam Brem.," II, 45; Cosmas of Prague, "Chron.," I, 40; Helmold, "Chron.," I, 16.

⁵⁰ "Hist.," IV, c. 8.

⁵¹ Zimmermann, "Roman. Forsch.," XXIX (1911), 257 f.; 306 f. For instances, see Wace, "Roman de Rou," I, 3214 f.; "Galeran de Bretagne," 5613 f.; "Aymeri de Narb.," 2464 f.; "Parthenopeus," 8753 f.; "Saisnes," 441 f.

⁵² "Deschamps," ed. Soc. Anc. Textes, VII, 61-62.

⁵³ Jacob, "Ein arab. Reisender aus dem X oder dem XI Jahrhundert," 13.

⁵⁴ V, verses 549-50; VI, verses 379-82.

⁵⁵ Reynaud, "Les origines de l'influence franc. en Allemagne," I, 437.

⁵⁶ Bk. I, c. 50; IV, c. 62.

⁵⁷ Gerbert, "Ep.," 45; "Vita Gerardi," c. 6; "Gesta Camer.," I, 80; Waitz, "Deutscherfassungs-gesch.," IV, 156-57, has amassed a large number of other references.

⁵⁸ SS. III, 719.

⁵⁹ Ekkehard, "Chron.," 1107, SS. X, 105.

⁶⁰ "De obsidione Anconae Liber," c. 3.

⁶¹ SS. XIX, 445.

⁶² Fisher, "The Medieval Empire," II, 255. The note is very interesting for the matter in it.

⁶³ Ficker, "Forschungen," has gathered together some valuable evidence on this point. Cf. Fisher, op. cit., II, 256 f.

⁶⁴ Bouquet, H. F., VII, 573.

⁶⁵ MG. SS., XVII, 509-10.

⁶⁶ Ansbart, "Fontes rerum Austriacarum," SS. V, 30-33.

⁶⁷ I have related in detail this history in two articles: "German East Colonization," Proceedings of American Historical Association, 1915; "The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs," *American Journal of Theology*, April and July, 1916.

Making History by Popular Education

A STUDY OF THE PROPAGANDA METHODS OF THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE.

Fifty years hence, perhaps sooner, this war which now absorbs the interest of civilized mankind, will take its place in history as only one step in a great re-arrangement of the destinies of the world. Thanks to the far vision of President Wilson, the American people, more than any other party to the great conflict, is coming to regard the conflict not as an isolated phenomenon, but as part of a general scheme tending toward a definite object. Many regard this object as an improvement of international relations which, some day, may do away with war altogether, substituting right for might and justice for force.

Midway between those who believe that violence is unjustifiable under any circumstances and those who consider war as a fundamental necessity of human relations, stands the group represented in this country by the League to Enforce Peace, in England by the League of Nations Society, and in France and the neutral countries by similar organizations.

Admitting that war can be absolutely abolished only by regeneration of the human mind, and that this is the ultimate ideal, this group is striving for some method of international organization which, during the years that must intervene before quarrelsome humanity is ready to sheathe the sword forever, will make armed conflict difficult and increasingly rare for purely utilitarian and practical reasons.

Expressed in its simplest terms, their purpose is to cement an international agreement by which the nations of the world, or at least the majority of them, shall combine to compel the submission of international disputes to peaceful arbitration and to enforce this system by joint military and economic action.

The American League to Enforce Peace was established in June, 1915, at a time when few believed that this country would be drawn into the European struggle. Our entrance into the war, instead of checking the movement, gave it renewed force and insistence. The advocates of the League asserted immediately that this war was the overwhelming argument in favor of such a program as they proposed. Having advanced the principle of joint action against an aggressive nation which attacked its neighbors without attempting to arbitrate, they declared that the war was essentially *their* war. They pointed out that the combination of free nations arrayed against Germany was a prototype of the future League using its combined resources against a ruthless aggressor. At the head of its literature, the League put this slogan:

"WIN THE WAR.
MAKE THE WORLD SAFE
by the Defeat of German Militarism.
KEEP THE WORLD SAFE
by a League of Nations."

Members of the League contend that these two purposes—the winning of the war and the establishment

of a League of Nations as a guarantee of permanent peace in the future—are now inseparable.

Few periods in our history have witnessed more sweeping changes than those that have taken place during the past three years. One of the most conspicuous of these is the abandonment of the cherished idea of isolation, which, only a short time ago, was one of the cornerstones of our national structure. While the war is the greatest factor in this change, the new concepts of international duty owe their general acceptance, in a large degree, to the campaign of education carried out by the League to Enforce Peace. As a study in propaganda of an international scale, the methods of this organization deserve attention.

Much of the success of the League is due to the fact that its officers are men of wide prominence. Ex-President William H. Taft is president, Judge Alton B. Parker is vice-president, President Lowell, of Harvard University, is chairman of the Executive Committee, which includes fifty or more well-known men and women, nearly all of them leaders in their own particular state or field of work.

In a recent report to members presented at the National Convention, held at Philadelphia last May, this committee summarized the purpose of the organization under the following headings:

- "1. Emphasize the high purpose of the war.
- "2. Take an active part in Win-the-War activities.
- "3. Oppose an inconclusive and German-made peace that would be only a breathing space before another and greater contest.
- "4. Plan the foundations for a permanent League of Nations to make peace secure in the future."

In the performance of these vital functions the League has carried on an extensive work both at home and abroad.

In advancing its principles in other lands it has depended on the circulation of literature, on visits of prominent public men and on private correspondence.

The principal literature of the League has been translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Japanese and German, and substantial editions have been printed and circulated in all except the German. A succession of well-known men have carried and are now carrying the League's message to the leading men among our allies and the European neutrals. Constant interchange of views by correspondence has been carried on with the leaders of the League of Nations movement in Europe, and with other statesmen and makers of opinion there and in Japan.

The League is now organized in all but three States, with more than 4,000 state and county officers and committeemen. Twenty states have a complete system of state and county branches; fifteen have state organizations with branches in a number of

counties and cities; seven have temporary state organizations and three have provisional organizations.

One of the first steps in the organization of the League was to form a Committee on Information, which has directed the distribution to the newspapers and magazines of the country of material ranging from items of current news to articles written by some of the foremost authorities on economic and international politics. This committee now numbers forty-three editors, representing the leaders of the daily and periodical press. Through it the League has had the invaluable counsel of practical newspaper and magazine men in every part of the United States.

From the outset the League has aimed to represent all the varied elements of our population. Additions to its Executive and National Committees have brought into these two governing bodies leaders in labor, capital, and agriculture, in church, and education, in literature and in women's organizations. Fifty-six of the most important national and state organizations have endorsed the general principles of the League by formal resolution. A much larger number have given unofficial assurances of sympathy and co-operation. This co-operation has been carried out in distributing the League's literature and inviting the League's speakers to address conventions and other group meetings. More than two hundred and fifty of the most important national and state organizations of the country appointed delegates to the League's last national convention.

A special campaign is now under way through which the aims of the League are being presented to representatives of the churches in all parts of the country. Five members of the Executive Committee represent the League in the National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War, which has organized, during April, May and June, meetings in three hundred cities and towns situated in forty-four states. The main purpose of these meetings is to mobilize the ministers of the country behind the winning of the war and the League of Nations plan, and to teach them how best to carry this idea to their congregations. The popular mass meetings following the conferences have had audiences averaging twelve hundred. In this way the message reached 7,500 clergymen and a total audience of 360,000, drawn from the best elements of our population.

The League's Speakers' Bureau has enrolled about one thousand men and women, many of whom are of national reputation. During the past year they have addressed a large number of war rallies in every state of the Union. The Bureau has more calls for speakers than it can fill. These come from organizations of every kind, and result in imparting a patriotic character to conventions and meetings. Records show that during the past year the League's message has been delivered to 3,878 Chautauqua audiences, aggregating 3,878,000 persons, and to 3,485 Lyceum audiences, aggregating 1,594,000.

During the past two years the League has distributed more than two million and a half pieces of

literature, including books, pamphlets, folders and leaflets. These include presentations of the purpose and work of the League, special appeals addressed to individual groups, such as labor, agriculture and business; copies of especially effective speeches, declarations by prominent men and organizations here and abroad endorsing the League plan, circular letters to meet special occasions, reprints of resolutions and declarations adopted by the Executive Committee, a weekly Bulletin covering the current activities of the League, and calling attention to events of significance in the general League of Nations movement.

Looking forward to the time when entrance by the United States into a League of Nations will be the most important question before our National Congress, the League has conducted a campaign to place the legislatures of the different states on record favoring such a move. At present sixteen state legislatures have adopted resolutions favoring the participation of the United States in some kind of international organization.

The policy of the League has been to emphasize the big idea of a League of Nations, not to insist upon the details of organization as contemplated in our own platform. The best proof of this broad-gauge attitude is the platform adopted at the May convention. Realizing that the war will bring many changes and that the general principles underlying the organization of the society are constantly presenting new angles, the leaders refrained from discussing the details of international compacts. The platform reaffirmed the pledge to "Make the world safe by the defeat of German militarism," and to "Keep the world safe by a League of Nations," and devoted the succeeding planks to a warning against an "inconclusive peace" and against German peace propaganda. "So long as predatory militarism is not wholly destroyed," it declared, "no lasting peace can be made."

At the same time the League is not neglecting the study of peace terms. Ex-President Taft is the head of an inner circle which is considering a draft convention and collecting data regarding the actual formation of a League of Nations. The members of the organization have been assured that when the proper time comes the society will be equipped with information and recommendations, carefully digested, for the use of those whom our Government may designate to handle these problems at the final peace conference.

In its patriotic propaganda work, mobilizing public opinion behind the war, the League proceeds on the assumption that there is as necessary and vital a connection between the setting of the great objective for the war and the winning of the war as between the mind of a man and the body which the mind directs. A nation, like an individual, works at a task with all its might and enthusiasm only when it has a clearly defined and well understood reason for doing so. Before a crusading spirit can gather behind the war,

making the people willing to sacrifice and die for victory, some great simple issue must frame itself in the heart of the nation and be heard on the lips of every citizen.

The League's speakers, its literature and all its propaganda is keyed to this principle—"Win the Next War Now." It has used this slogan in its campaigns to help the Red Cross and Y. M. C. A. funds, and to help the Government sell Liberty Bonds. The League was the organization selected by Secretary McAdoo during the second Liberty Loan to receive a letter urging patriotic societies of the country to put all their strength behind the loan.

This organization has taken the lead in sending speakers and literature to the military training camps. The average citizen is likely to overlook the value of patriotic propaganda work in the cantonments. It is a recognized fact, however, that a large proportion of our young men go into military training with very vague ideas of the great purpose behind the war. To say that they will learn what the war is all about fast enough when they once reach France is no answer. The American soldier wants to know what it is all about, and he fights best only when he knows. To

meet this situation, the League sent its president, William Howard Taft, on a tour of the training camps where he delivered about thirty addresses. It also arranged one of Mr. Taft's most effective speeches, "The Menace of a Premature Peace," as a lecture, illustrated by stereopticon slides made from war cartoons. Sets of this lecture are being circulated by the Y. M. C. A. in all the cantonments, where they are presented by the Y. M. C. A. secretaries.

Those who look forward to a league of nations after the war find their greatest encouragement in the fact that the armies under Foch will bring together men of many nationalities who will learn, by experience, the spirit of international brotherhood. For a generation or more, the men who fought the Civil War were the leaders in the development of our nation. The men in khaki, when they return victorious from the battlefields of France, will come back with a realization of our duty not only to our own country, but to the world. The League to Enforce Peace is working to arouse sentiment among those who help fight the war at home which will make our country ready to cement this spirit of international friendship by some political arrangement.¹

Historical Problems of the Near East

I. The Trade Routes of Western Asia

BY PROF. W. L. WESTERMANN, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

At the outbreak of the great European War we Americans awoke to a surprised realization that one of the vital questions of the war related to a railroad line called the Bagdad Railway. We heard from German lips and read in the books of German writers of their pressure toward the East, the "Drang nach Osten." We learned of a great dream of commercial and political power which had been dreamed in Berlin. It involved the control of continuous railway connections between the great German port of Hamburg and the Oriental city of Bagdad, that half-real sort of place endowed with all the romance of Arabian Nights and colored with the wonderful hues of the paintings of Maxfield Parrish.

Soon the romance and the high colors about the magic city of Bagdad began to dissolve, and we found ourselves faced by a serious modern reality. The dream of Berlin had almost become a fact. We learned that its accomplishment would have far-reaching consequences throughout the world, not the least of which was that the Bagdad railway was to be the means for breaking India away from the British empire and the route by which the Indian trade into London was to be diverted through Constantinople into Berlin and the holds of the German merchantmen along the quays of Hamburg. The Wilhelmstrasse and the Deutsche Bank—the German Military Staff and the German bankers—they dream in pairs.

Important as the Bagdad railway is when viewed purely as a modern fact, its real significance in the history of to-day and its vital importance in the future of the Near East and the Far East cannot be correctly or fully appreciated unless it is understood as a very old fact. It must be regarded as nothing more than an old caravan route, twenty-five hundred years old, and more; in fact, until the beginning of this century much the same old caravan route as it was in the days of Xerxes, the great King of Persia. Suddenly modernized and brought up to date, with rails and cars and steam power and its course slightly changed, behold, the great Persian highway of old is the Bagdad railway of to-day.

The familiar term "Near East" may be defined as including that part of Asia lying eastward of the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea, southward of the Black Sea, the Caucasus range and the Caspian Sea, stretching eastward as far as India, and including Arabia. Look at a map of this area and you will observe that it is bounded on the east by the mountains of India, on the north by the steppes of western Asia and the Caucasus, and everywhere else by water. That is the outstanding feature of this great

¹ Readers who desire further information or literature concerning the League may obtain it from Allan P. Ames, secretary of the League's Committee on Information, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York.—EDITOR.

block of land—its tremendous amount of shore line. Until the Suez Canal was cut through in 1869 it was connected with Africa by a strip of about 100 miles. It is separated from Europe at the Dardanelles and Bosphorus by very narrow water channels. It is a part of Asia, by land connections. Yet it is even more closely in touch with Europe by the water connections of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In cultural affiliations it is neither entirely Asiatic nor entirely European. It is not a land of itself. Except for the great isolated desert peninsula of Arabia, no part of it has been able to maintain its distinctive cultural peculiarities; nor has it, as a whole, ever been able to fuse into a single national consciousness its varied racial and cultural elements. It is a great central meeting place for Africa, Europe and Asia.

In the third millennium before Christ the two civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia had developed each along distinctive lines. Egypt had already begun to transport goods along regular commercial paths into Nubia, Abyssinia and Central Africa. The Sumerians and Akkadians, in the lower basin of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, had also, before 2000 B. C., extended their sphere of military and trade connections from the Persian Gulf up the Tigris, and, more particularly, the Euphrates rivers. By way of the Euphrates their knowledge of the world, their armies, and their trade reached the Mediterranean Sea.

In the same period, 3000-2000 B. C., a people living in Crete developed the short sea routes and a trade borne in small ships through the islands of the Aegean. The "Aegean" civilizations of this Cretan people, as expressed in their craftsmanship in ceramics, gem-cutting, gold and silver-smithing, was quite distinct from that of the peoples in the Nile valley and in Babylonia. In the early part of the second millennium before Christ another people was already well established in the rough mountainous areas of the central and northern parts of Asia Minor. These were the Hittites.

By 1400 B. C. these four peoples were in direct commercial contact, each with the others. *International trade* had begun, and the general lines of the great trade routes of the Near East had been laid down. Each of these four peoples had widened its sphere of trade, so that it is not an exaggeration to say that the world trade of that time included an area bounded on the north by the Russian shore of the Black Sea and the Danube River, on the west by the Adriatic Sea and a line drawn southward from it and deeply into Africa. Its southern boundary could be approximately established by drawing a line from the southern end of Arabia across the end of the Red Sea over the Nile River, meeting in the Sahara Desert the imaginary and approximate line which we have drawn southward from the Adriatic Sea. The eastern boundary might be established, with a fair degree of exactness, by drawing a line from the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea to the eastern end of the Persian Gulf. Within this great rectangle lies

the Central Trade Route of the Near East as it was established by about 1400 B. C., and has remained with surprisingly little change to this day.

The Egyptian Pharaohs had already cut a canal from the Nile Delta over to the Red Sea. Their sphere of trade included the Arabian and African coasts of the Red Sea and east central Africa. The ships of the Pharaohs, propelled by wind and oars, sailed northward from Thebes in argosies of five or more down the Nile, through the canal, then southward down the Red Sea—an all-water route, long and time-consuming, but safe. These mercantile voyages were entirely government enterprises, because individual capital had not developed the power or initiative to undertake them. The routes which tapped central Africa were for donkey-caravans, as were also those which went up and down the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. In Egypt donkeys are still used along with camels. On the Tigris-Euphrates routes to-day the trade is chiefly by camel caravans.

It is well to note that the Egyptian trade moved largely by water routes. For the Mediterranean trade with the Syrian coast, as well as the Red Sea and Arabian relations, had forced them to develop a merchant fleet. The trade from the Cretan centers, into Greece, into the Black Sea, or to the coast of Asia Minor and to Egypt, was all sea-borne trade. Hittite and Babylonian commercial products, however, were carried by caravan. In the exchange of the products of the Babylonian plain with those of Arabia and central Africa, the people inhabiting northern Syria, those living in the region of the modern commercial centers of Beirut, Damascus, Alexandria and Aleppo, became the great middlemen. Throughout history these Arameans, as they were called of old, Syrians as they are called to-day, have remained the great middlemen and carriers of the trade from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean lands. They have always had the central geographic position where the water and land routes meet. Their strong commercial instinct is a development of this geographic advantage.

The conquests of Alexander the Great brought the lure of India into the life of the Mediterranean world. The opening up of the western Mediterranean land was the work of the Greeks and Phœnicians. Its thorough conquest, development and organization was the work of Rome. In the first century of our era the world of trade extended from Scotland to the eastern shore of China and very deeply into Africa. Through routes to the cotton lands of India and the silk lands of China were established. Books were written about them. The stations and distances by land and sea were well known. Of these far-flung lines Western Asia was the central point. All the through trade must either go through it or around it, because the Pacific routes to the western hemisphere were unknown.

The six centuries from Alexander the Great to Constantine were therefore a period of high prosperity in the Near East. The great routes from the Occi-

dent to the Orient were three, the Northern, the Central, and the Southern or sea route around Arabia. The Northern Route opened eastward at Byzantium (Constantinople). Past Byzantium western goods were shipped by water upon the Black Sea to Phasis, at its eastern end. Thence the goods were transported by land along the Cyrus (Kur) river to the Caspian Sea, following closely the line of the Batum-Tiflis-Baku branch of the Russian Trans-Caucasus railway. The modern terminus at the great petroleum center of Baku marks the approximate site where the old route struck the Caspian. Crossing the Caspian by boat, just as goods and passengers must do to-day, these went by caravan through Hyrcania, via Maracanda (modern Samarcand) and Bactra, to the "Stone Tower," in the Pamir range of mountains. There the western merchants customarily stopped. Thence Chinese or Indian merchants diverted the trade into India or eastward, over a caravan distance of seven months, into the silk regions of eastern China.

Observe that this route follows, in its general lines, though not in detail, the approximate course of the Black Sea—Trans-Caucasian Railway—Caspian Sea—Transcaspian Railway route of to-day. At present the railway line ends at Andijan in Russian Turkestan and at the northern border line of Afghanistan. About five hundred miles of railway construction would bring it into connection with the railways of India; and the old Northern Caravan Route to India would then be entirely restored in modern form.

The Central Caravan Route, still used almost completely in its ancient form until 1904, had two branches. The upper one, connecting Byzantium with the Persian Gulf, corresponded quite closely to the present line of the Anatolian and Bagdad railways, which were begun in 1888 under German influence, and are now completed from Constantinople to Bagdad except for a stretch of about 400 miles, from Nisibin in upper Mesopotamia to Mosul on the Tigris river, and from Mosul southward to Samarra. From Samarra to Bagdad the railway is now finished. The camel trains along the Tigris still supply the missing link from Samarra to Nisibin.

The lower branch of this Central Route was used much more in ancient and medieval times. Mules and camels laden with the goods of India and China plodded slowly up the southern bank of the Euphrates river to the point where it turns northward. Leaving the Euphrates they crossed westward to Chalybon (Arabia, Haleb-Aleppo), then further westward to the great emporium of Antioch on the Orontes river. This was the outlet of that merchandise which was bound westward over the Mediterranean waterways. Goods bound for the great mart of Alexandria might be diverted southwestward from the Euphrates at Thapsacus and take the desert track over Palmyra to Damascus. This caravan route is still used as of old. The upper or Syrian branch of the new Hedjaz railway, running south-

ward from Aleppo through Damascus to the coastal city of Jaffa, represents the old trade route to Alexandria. Since the British armies have occupied Palestine the entire rail connection has been made from Cairo in Egypt over El Arish and Gaza to Jaffa. Only this last year has seen the complete modernizing of this time-worn camel route.

The third or Southern Route to the Orient in ancient times was almost an all-water route. The goods of the west came into the harbor of Alexandria, the city of the famous light-house, Pharos, with fine harbor facilities. Thence they were shipped up the Nile to Coptus, by caravan to the Red Sea harbors of Myus Hermus or Berenice, then by boat to India. Augustus Cæsar showed a great interest in the development of the Orient trade by this waterway. In the first century of our era a discovery was made by an Alexandrian merchant named Hippalus which is comparable in effect with the change in the Indian trade resulting from the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Hippalus put to practical use the knowledge that the monsoons blew steadily from southwest to northeast from April to October, from northeast to southwest from October to April. Formerly all shipping had followed the eastern coast of Arabia and the southern coast of Persia. Hippalus trusted his ships to the monsoons, sailing directly across the Indian Ocean from the southeastern corner of Arabia. Just as the Suez Canal saves weeks over the long sail around the continent of Africa, so the new sea route of Hippalus saved weeks in the ancient sea traffic with India and China. And time *was* money, as well as *is*.

These three great trunk routes of the Near East, with their many branches, have been used continuously throughout the Christian era. The extent to which they were used has, of course, varied greatly. From about A. D. 1500 to the time of the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) their relative importance in the world's lines of communication was greatly reduced. This was due to the re-discovery of the route around Africa, completed by Vasco de Gama's bold voyage in 1497-98 around the Cape of Good Hope to Calcutta in India. It was a re-discovery only, in the sense that ancient voyagers had circumnavigated Africa. From the standpoint of practical trade it was entirely new, because the ancients had made little use of it commercially, and the knowledge of it had apparently been entirely lost.

After 1500 A. D. the routes to India through the Near East were unable to compete with the new sea route around Africa for many reasons, chief of which was the great cost of the long caravan journeys, or of unloading at Alexandria and of transshipment via Cairo to Suez at the head of the Red Sea. Again, on the Southern or Sea Route, time was wasted in the Red Sea voyage because of lack of favorable winds. Consequently the period 1500-1869 was one of decline for the Near East. In the past century, steam transportation and the opening of the Suez Canal ushered in a new and modern period of in-

creased prosperity for the Near East and a great revival in the importance of its routes.

Out of this revived importance and interest in the Near East routes has come the Bagdad Railway and its many attendant problems. It is the great Central Trade Route of old. Its modern form, the railway, gives it a tremendous advantage over the Mediterranean sea routes in so far as that trade is concerned which handles the inland products of Western Asia itself. Rail transportation is much faster than that by sea. Goods sent by sea from Hamburg to Aleppo must be loaded at the place of export and unloaded at Alexandretta, which is the present mouth into Asia corresponding to the ancient Seleucia (harbor of Antioch). Then they must be packed upon camels or loaded into cars, and sent forward to

Aleppo. The Hamburg-Constantinople-Bagdad Railway, with its rail connections, once the standard gauge is established throughout, will make it possible to load a car at Paris, Hamburg, Berlin or Petrograd and send it directly into the freight depots of Aleppo. The cost of transportation will be, by this one consideration alone, greatly reduced. This direct shipment is already possible from any of the great European centers to any place on the railway line in Anatolia, as far as the tunnels through the Taurus mountains, where the narrow gauge tracks for the present necessitate transshipment.

It is in this historic setting, as an old political and economic fact revived and modernized, that the Bagdad Railway scheme appears in its correct perspective.¹

How the Southerners Supported the War for Secession

BY PROFESSOR J. S. BASSETT, SMITH COLLEGE.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist about the right or wrong of secession, there can be little doubt that once in the war the people of the South gave it a strong and unselfish support. It was a gigantic venture on their part, and in order to carry it through to a successful issue they threw literally their "lives, fortunes, and sacred honor" into the struggle. It was not hard to see that it meant utter ruin, if the venture failed, yet they went forward to the test as gaily and as unreservedly as if the issue had been of the utmost certainty. Happily the things for which they fought are to-day merely academic principles, as one may well see by reading the daily casualty lists in the papers; but it may help us somewhat in our support of the present struggle if we recall that other series of sacrifices in the hot days of the 'sixties.

From the Southern point of view the war was fought to repel invasion. The gray clad men risked their lives to drive back the invaders of their homes. This they could not have done if they had not been bred to the notion that there was something peculiar in the South which made it a section apart from the rest of the United States. In 1861 the slavery controversy was thirty years old; the oldest man of military age in the South was a youth when it began. All his ideas had been formed in a school whose doctrine was that an attack on his institutions was imminent. In 1861 he felt that the long-dreaded day had arrived, and it was now or never, if he meant to save his home from domination by persons who had no sympathy with it. It was on this fundamental basis that his efforts to win the war rested.

I do not mean that all Southerners thought the South should go to war in 1861. Many of them, although they felt that they had grounds for resentment, held that war was not the remedy. Also, many did not agree with the measures taken to carry on the struggle after war began. President Jefferson Davis

had many critics in the South, and there was a wide divergence of views about the wisdom of some of the measures adopted by his government; but on the one great question of the necessity that every one should do his part in supporting the struggle there was no difference of judgment.

The most evident necessity, when hostilities began, was to raise an army. Volunteering was immediately employed for this purpose, and it yielded such good results that the training camps were so crowded that there were not muskets enough to equip the men who wished to use them. The Peninsular campaign in Virginia and the campaigns against Grant in Tennessee were fought by armies raised on this principle. But by this time it was evident that the struggle was to be so long that the entire man-power of the South would be required to meet the demand. Accordingly, the Confederate Congress enacted the conscription act of April 16, 1862, calling into the service all men from eighteen to thirty-five years of age. In the following September the latter age was raised to forty-five. There was no protest against the wisdom of this law. In fact, the men of the South generally held it a reproach if they waited to be conscripted, and they flocked to the enlistment stations in anticipation of the operation of the new laws. The last effort of the confederate government in calling out its man-power was the law of February 17, 1864, when all the men from seventeen to eighteen and from forty-five to fifty were enrolled in what was known as a reserve force, to be used for home defense. But the volunteers in the regular army included many a boy of sixteen. In the last months of the war hardly a Southern community contained a white man who

¹ For a sensible discussion of this and related questions, see the article upon the "Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade," by A. H. Lybyer, in the *English Historical Review*, XXX, 1915, pp. 577-78, 587.

was not in the military service or engaged in some form of industry necessary to support the army.

Another test of sacrifice was in raising revenues. Three means were open to the confederate authorities—taxation, the issue of bonds, and the circulation of treasury notes. Each was employed to the limit of its possibility. Taxation was peculiarly restricted by the conditions existing in a very rural region. The people, long accustomed to buying their merchandise on credit to be paid for in bulk by handing over their crops to the factors who had supplied them, had carried on their business on an unusually small amount of money. What little they had was soon paid into the treasury to satisfy the claims of the tax-collector or in exchange for confederate bonds. That done, direct taxation became a slender reliance for obtaining the large sums that the war demanded. As for indirect taxes, export and import duties, from which much had been expected in the beginning, the blockade of the Southern ports made the foreign trade such a small affair that these taxes yielded next to nothing. If the South could have exported her cotton supply during this struggle, she could have borrowed freely in Europe, in which case the result of the war might well have been far different from what it proved to be.

The sale of confederate bonds turned out to be a disappointing thing, partly because the people, finding their cotton unsaleable, had little money with which to buy, and partly because the bonds which they took in exchange for the produce they sold to the government were forced on the market at steadily falling prices in order to obtain the funds needed for ordinary purposes. So rapidly did the bonds depreciate that the government was forced to limit bond sales in order to protect its credit.

The only resource left was to issue treasury notes, or confederate money. The financiers of the confederacy well knew what dangers lurked in such a process, but they could not help themselves. Issue after issue was made to meet the necessities of the hour. Inflation was the inevitable result. Confederate money became so cheap that it was wittily said that the ladies of Richmond carried their money to market in their baskets and brought their purchases home in their purses. In the third year of the war it took twenty confederate dollars to buy one dollar in specie. Long before this, however, specie had disappeared from circulation. The government had gathered all it could lay hands on and sent it out of the country to buy needed supplies, specie being the only money it could use in such transactions. Some of the best fighting done by the confederate soldiers was done by men whose only pay was in confederate bills worth so little that the men who received them had little hope of getting enough for a month's pay to buy a pair of shoes for wife or daughter.

The Southerners are noted for good nature under calamity. Under such burdens as the war brought they manifested the best of spirits. Mrs. Clayton tells of one of her friends who drew a thousand dol-

lars from a bank in Richmond and rode off blithely to spend it all on an evening's entertainment of his friends. It cost twenty-five dollars an hour to hire a carriage to go to a reception, and an equal amount was paid for a brace of ducks. Yet dinners and receptions were never so well attended in Richmond, nor so much enjoyed. Southerners were brought up to think less of money than some of their brethren who lived in sections where careful business habits were common instincts. They would face the situation to the end in a care-free spirit, because it was their habit to face danger without gloom. Gloominess came at last, in the last days of the war; but it was the depression arising from the certainty of coming defeat for the cause they loved, not from the hardships they faced.

None knew better than they what failure would mean. Financial ruin was certain. The loss of the slaves would of itself be a vast sacrifice of wealth. It is true the negroes would still be with them as hired laborers, and if the owners were forced to pay wages they would at least be relieved of the expense of supporting the entire slave population. What was lost in one way would be nearly regained in the other. But it was not to be denied that slaves were wealth to the possessor. They furnished the basis of credit, and with that went the possibility of doing and being all the things wealth makes possible.

More than this, the destruction of slavery would go far toward the destruction of the crystallization of Southern society. Through several generations a number of leading families had built up each community. They had given it its ideals, its initiative, and its social standards. They were the keystone of Southern life. They could not keep their feet as leaders if slavery were overthrown. The Southern plantation was the unit of Southern life. The worst catastrophe that defeat brought to the South was the breakdown of this unit, leaving the people to begin the slow process of rebuilding other units on a new basis. The old planter was to be thrown into the discard, and those who had been in the middle or in the lower class were to be thrown up into prominence. Life had to be built all over again. It was the consciousness of this impending disorganization that took all the heart out of the Southern people of the leading class when they came at last to realize that their united efforts were to end in failure.

For the men of the middle class, the small slaveholders and the farmers who worked with their own hands, the war was equally a calamity. It is true that it was to bring them opportunities they had not had before, but they were hardly able to see so far into the future. Their immediate concern was the loss of the cause for which they had fought. Between them and the planters was no distrust. Together they had stood before the war, together they stood in the struggle, and together they would stand in calamity. In fact, the results would be bad enough for all. There was no capital in the South, except the capital invested in land, that was not to be swept

away by the ruin that impended. Into confederate bonds, and confederate money had gone every kind of saving. People who were in debt, and there were many of them in a country whose business was so seriously demoralized by war, would not be able to pay. The thriftless man would have to sell to wipe out his obligations, the thrifty man would see his mortgages and notes of hand become nearly valueless through the general depreciation of property that had formerly been considered good security. Never did a community come nearer to general bankruptcy than the South through the failure of its struggle for independence.

It is evident that most Southerners saw their coming catastrophe by the middle of summer, 1864. Why, therefore, did they not give up the struggle at that time? If they had acted on a mere basis of self-

interest they would, probably, have given up. But there was something else in the struggle. The psychologist may call it what he wills; the Southerner called it honor. For the sake of his honor he would not submit. He fought the dire fight out to utter exhaustion; and to this day he has not been sorry that he chose that course rather than the less ideal way of saving what he could through throwing himself on the mercy of his opponents. In doing so he lost much of his property, no doubt; but he handed down to his children some of the best ideals of human living. He showed them how to give themselves for their convictions. It was his opportunity to prove his loyalty, and he met it without flinching. The example he gave to the world is to-day a part of the common stock of American ideals, and it is not too much to say that it will not be lost on the men of the present time.

The Changing Fortunes of the Great War

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

During the past two months (July and August) the military situation on the more important battle fronts has suffered material and even startling changes. The power of the Central Monarchies reached its high-water mark with the fourth German offensive of the present year's campaign, which began on the 9th of June. Six weeks later it was becoming evident that in both military strength and prestige the Teutonic empires had entered upon a period of serious decline. The end of the war may yet be far distant; but at this writing the Allied nations are looking toward the future with more real confidence in the outcome than at any other time since America entered the war.

I. THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

This belief that the situation has actually changed to the disadvantage of the enemy is based on the progress of a series of events, movements, and undertakings, the more important of which may be listed as follows:

1. On June 15, after long and elaborate preparation, the Austrians launched their "hunger offensive" in the valley of the Piave River. It is reported that a million men were thrown against the Italian lines. The drive made only slight progress, however, and after a week's fighting it ended in defeat before the counter-thrusts of the Italians and their allies.

2. On July 6 the Italians suddenly attacked the Austrian lines in Albania. This offensive was of minor character, but it gained some territory for the Italians, and further served to emphasize the earlier defeat of the Austrians on the Piave.

3. Nine days later (July 15) the Germans opened their fifth great offensive. Their armies crossed the Marne on the first day, and at certain points they advanced their lines about two miles. But there was no further progress; the "peace offensive" failed.

4. On the fourth day of this drive General Foch struck at the wedge that the enemy had driven southward between the Vesle and the Marne. The attack was successful, and since that date the Allied command has retained the initiative. More than two-thirds of the territory lost to the Germans since March 21 has been recovered.

5. During the past year, and especially during the past four months, a vast American army has been landed and organized on French soil. At this writing its total strength is well past 1,500,000. American forces in constantly growing numbers have been employed in checking all the five German offensives, and have been used effectively in the aggressive operations of the Allied armies since General Foch seized the initiative on July 18.

6. In August the Allied governments finally reached an agreement in the matter of giving assistance to the anti-German elements in Russia. British, Japanese, and American troops have been landed or have appeared at five different points in the territories that once were Russia: on the Murman coast, at Archangel, on the Caspian shore (at Baku), in western Turkestan, and at Vladivostok.

7. The neutral governments have apparently concluded that Germany faces inevitable defeat. On August 22 it was announced that the Swedish government had finally concluded a commercial agreement with the Allies, according to the terms of which a large part of the Swedish shipping will be placed at the service of the enemies of Germany. In view of the fact that Germany was, in the years before the war, the "best customer" of the Swedes, this agreement becomes very significant.

8. During the same week the German foreign office was considering the probable effects of a threat from the Spanish government to seize and use German

ships interned in Spanish ports, if the German U-boats should continue the destruction of Spanish ships.

II. THE LENGTHENING OF THE BRITISH BATTLE LINE.

The more recent undertakings of the British army have again called the world's attention to the initiative and resources of the British Commonwealth. The Union Jack now floats over a long series of "fronts" from Ypres to Vladivostok. The bulk of the English army is no doubt fighting in Flanders and Picardy! but there are also important British commands in northern Italy, at Saloniki, and at various points in Asia. In Palestine and Mesopotamia large forces, composed chiefly of native Indian soldiery, but under English command, have made considerable progress in wresting those ancient lands from the Turk. Recently it has been reported that British forces have found their way from Mesopotamia to Baku and from India through eastern Persia into Turkestan. Of these advances little is known, but they are likely to prove of considerable importance. The Allied army that is working its way northward from Vladivostok is made up in part of British soldiers.

The German who studies the more distant regions of the war map will no doubt be interested to find that British forces have placed themselves squarely across most of the great commercial routes leading from Europe to the Near East, the Far East, and southern Asia.

1. Austria has long hoped to come into possession of Saloniki, the most important port on the Aegean Sea; but the Saloniki front, in which England shares, prevents the Hapsburgs from realizing this ambition.

2. The Bagdad Railway, with its Syrian branch, which was to carry German power to the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf, and divert a large part of the Asiatic trade to Prussian ports, has lost its value to the commercial barons of Germany since the fall of Bagdad and Jerusalem.

3. The more recent German dream of commercial expansion through Russia and Ukraine along the Siberian Railway and the routes farther south is likely to remain a dream only. Two railway lines running from the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov to the Caspian lands converge at Baku; it was doubtless the fact that Baku is an important point on one of the great routes to the Orient, rather than the wealth of the neighboring oil fields, that determined the British authorities to send an expedition into this region. Just across the Caspian from Baku another railway line continues the eastward course along the Persian frontier and past the historic cities of Bokhara and Samarcand, almost to the Chinese frontier. The British expedition into Turkestan has doubtless been sent to seize and hold some important point on this line. The Union Jack is also in evidence at the Pacific terminal of the Siberian Railway.

The Allies, with the English among them, have also landed troops on the Arctic coast of Russia, and are in control of the two most important ports in that region: Archangel and Alexandrovsk (Catherine Harbor). From these ports railways run into the interior of Russia—from Alexandrovsk to Petrograd, and from Archangel to Moscow. In the event of military operations in northern Russia the occupation of these points is a matter of great importance. Serious operations are, however, not likely to be undertaken by either side for some months to come, as the winter season on the shores of the White Sea is long and severe.

III. THE CZECHS AND SLOVAKS IN SIBERIA.

The most promising development in Russia during the past summer has been the singular and wholly unexpected activity of the Czecho-Slovak prisoners of war in the territories east of the Volga River. The Czechs are the Slavic inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia. The Slovaks are a kindred people living east of the Moravians in northern Hungary. The languages spoken in these three areas are closely related, and the Czecho-Slovak people may be regarded as forming a distinct nationality.

For some time there has been a strong nationalist and anti-German movement in Bohemia; and among the Slovaks there has been much dissatisfaction with their subjection to Hungary. In the present war the Slavic subjects of the Austrian emperor have not been ardent supporters of the imperial cause. In various ways the Czechs and Slovaks have found their way into the armies of the Allies; both in Italy and on the western front their regiments have engaged the German enemy.

But it is in Siberia that these peoples have found their great military opportunity. During the last year of Russian participation in the war Czechs and Slovaks in large numbers entered the Russian lines as prisoners of war or deserters. When the Bolshevik leaders seized the government and made "peace" with the enemy, these Austrian Slavs found themselves in a difficult position. To return to Bohemia or Hungary was neither wholly safe nor to their liking; accordingly they applied to the Bolshevik rulers for permission to leave Russia, their purpose being to join the Allies in France. Permission was finally secured, and about 100,000 men with considerable equipment set out on the long journey to Vladivostok, where they hoped to find shipping to some English or French port.

The Germans learned what these Slavs were planning, and naturally interposed objections. Trouble soon broke out between the Bolsheviks and these traveling Bohemians, most of whom were still in southeastern Russia and western Siberia. The disagreement led to hostilities and the Czecho-Slovaks found it necessary to seize large sections of the Siberian Railway.

There were at the time several centers of opposition to the Bolsheviks in Siberia. A counter-revolu-

tionary government had been set up in Omsk which was apparently recognized throughout the greater part of western Siberia. At Vladivostok another revolutionary organization was trying to hold and control the Pacific coast. So far as can be determined these two bodies are working in agreement toward a common end. General Horvath, the general manager of the Manchurian (Eastern Chinese) Railway, a representative of the older office-holding class in Russia, has attempted to displace the government at Vladivostok, but apparently without success. General Semenoff with a force of Cossacks has also been operating in eastern Siberia in opposition to the Bolsheviks; but it has not been possible to determine from the information available exactly what attitude he has taken toward the governments at Omsk and Vladivostok.

Siberia is a vast region covering (exclusive of Central Asia) an area of nearly 5,000,000 square miles. From Omsk to Vladivostok is a journey as long as from San Francisco to New York. The country is, on the whole, only sparsely populated; the total number of inhabitants is approximately 8,000,000, of whom four-fifths are Slavs, the descendants of immigrants, convicts, revolutionary exiles, officials, and soldiers. The Russian element occupies a belt of territory extending the whole length of Siberia from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. In its western half this belt is from 300 to 600 miles wide; but east of Lake Baikal it is reduced to a narrow strip, a series of settlements (often mere villages) in the valleys of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

It is in this thinly populated area that the situation is most confused. On the one side are English, Japanese, Chinese, Americans, Czechs, Slovaks, and Cossacks operating chiefly from Vladivostok, and generally upholding the provisional government in that city. On the other side are Bolshevik Russians, assisted by German and Hungarian prisoners of war with their chief stronghold at Chita, an important city some 300 miles east of Lake Baikal.

Of immense importance for both parties is the Siberian Railway which runs the entire length of the Slavic belt. The force that controls this railway will find it comparatively easy to hold the greater part of Siberia. It is clear that the news reports from this immense and only partly developed country can scarcely be regarded as reliable; but such as they are, the reports lead to the belief that there is an almost complete absence of Bolshevik authority in the western and more populous section of Siberia; that the Czechoslovaks are masters of the whole Slavic belt from Tobolsk on the north to Semipalatinsk on the south; and that they hold the Siberian Railway from the Volga River to Lake Baikal, a distance of about 2,000 miles. It is important to remember that western Siberia is a famous grain field, and that southern Siberia is rich in minerals; to these much-

needed forms of riches the Germans are for the present denied access.

East of Lake Baikal as far as the Manchurian border the Bolsheviks and their allies appear to be present in considerable strength, controlling the railway for a distance of at least 700 miles. The remainder of the Siberian route seems to be in dispute; but the elements opposed to the Bolsheviks have complete control of the Manchurian line except for a comparatively short distance within Siberian territory. The fighting recently reported appears to be for the possession of Nikolsk, a station some fifty miles north of Vladivostok, where the Manchurian Railway connects with the Siberian route. One should presume that the Allies will transport their forces over the Manchurian road to the neighborhood of Chita, and that the war for the control of Siberia may be fought out in that region.

The course and progress of the war in that part of the world will, of course, depend upon what strength the pro-German combination is able to muster. To what extent the Bolsheviks have a following in Siberia cannot be determined. That country has long been the enforced abiding-place of political offenders, and among such men and their descendants one should expect to find keen sympathy with extreme views. At the same time, nine-tenths of the Slavic population in Siberia is engaged in agricultural occupations, and Bolshevism appears to have lost its interest for the peasantry. The Cossacks are an uncertain element, but so far as can be determined they have not taken kindly to the Bolshevik faith.

The Czechoslovak movement, if it is successful, is sure to have interesting and far-reaching consequences:

1. It promises to liberate Siberia from Bolshevik authority, and to give heart, courage, and strength to the democratic forces in European Russia.

2. It may lead to the restoration of an ancient European state. The Czechoslovaks have been recognized by France, Italy, and recently (August 13) by England "as an Allied nation," and their forces "as an Allied and belligerent army." This nation has a revolutionary organization residing abroad, but has no government except the regular administration subject to Vienna. The recognition of such a state is unusual, but if the Czechoslovaks are successful in their operations in Siberia, the coming peace conference will no doubt see a determined effort to establish an independent and greater Bohemia, which would have a respectable extent of territory and a population of about 10,000,000.

3. The prospect of independence for the Bohemians is quite sure to react on the South Slavs (the Jugo-Slavs), who also have nationalistic aspirations. Bohemian success in Asia may mean grave danger to the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

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THIS MONTH'S SUPPLEMENT.

In the supplement to this issue (page 401), Professor A. L. Cross presents an interesting collection of documents relating to the British Empire and its future organization. These papers show clearly that the idea of a Federal Parliament with representation therein of the several dominions and colonies is not the solution of the imperial problem which the provincial leaders desire. Even the Imperial Conferences have considered relatively unimportant matters. The most notable change in the organization of the Empire, forced by the war, has been the erection of the Imperial War Cabinet. General Smuts points out (page 407) that the Empire is a system of states whose distinctive growths should not be restricted by a narrow constitution aiming at mechanical uniformity. His statement of the two essentials

to the future success of the British "commonwealth of nations"—an hereditary kingship and an imperial conference—is most striking. Americans will be interested in his contrast of the British Empire with the United States, and in the reasons given for retaining the monarchy. The last document (page 409) also gives the British African's attitude toward the lands recently conquered from Germany in Africa. It would be well to compare this statement with that contained in point five of President Wilson's "14-point speech" of January 8, 1918.

A NEW TITLE.

With this number a new name appears upon our title page. In adopting the name, THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, the editors and publishers have had in mind two aims which they have held for some time.

The first of these is the desire to view the present and prepare for the future by a sane understanding of the historic past. It is not their aim to glorify the good old times of other days. Nor do they wish to hamper and restrain our actions to-day by a blind adherence to historical precedent. They do hold, however, that as citizens, or as teachers, we should retain an historical outlook upon the present. They believe that a knowledge of the historic roots of the present is necessary to intelligent thought and action upon our current problems. As no business or professional man acts by chance, but in the light of the experience of his own life and of his profession, so, to-day, the citizens of all the great states of the world should view the momentous problems of political and economic reconstruction in the light of past attempts at their solution. If THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK shall serve in only a small degree in emphasizing this point, and in furnishing materials for sane judgments, its editors will feel repaid for their labors.

In the second place, the term "outlook" is used in the sense of a survey of the work of historians. It is the aim to help readers, students, and teachers of history by guiding them to books and to methods which will be of immediate assistance in reading and teaching. Reports of new methods of teaching history and the social sciences will be given. News of historical associations will appear, and reviews and book lists will act as guides to new literature. The features which have made "The History Teacher's Magazine" so useful to teachers in the past will be retained, while these teachers and other readers as well will be encouraged to take a broad historic view of present-day affairs.

The Duty of the History Teacher in Forming Public Opinion During the War

BY PROFESSOR THEODORE CLARKE SMITH, WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

At this critical period in the war, when tension is continually growing in America as our troops begin to share in the terrific fighting of the decisive campaigns, it is the duty of all those who are trained in historical judgment to use every particle of influence they can exert to steady the minds of those with whom they come in contact. In my opinion this comes near to being the greatest service that the historical teacher can render, for if he does not do it there are few who will.

Consider the influences which tend to confuse judgment on military events, for instance. The daily papers are crowded with dispatches, articles inspired from "Washington" interviews, utterances of so-called "military experts" or critics—some of them genuine, others anonymous and self-styled—summaries of foreign newspaper opinion, and editorials hastily written, but bound by convention to speak authoritatively. The whole is garnished by head-lines which may contain the gist of the associated press dispatches, but are more likely to be as sensational as possible. Nothing is more grimly amusing than to see, side by side, the scare headlines of half a dozen different dailies, displayed on some news-stand, during a German "drive." They range from "German Advance Sweeps On," and "French Overwhelmed by Numbers," through "German Losses Appalling" to "Germans Fail in Objective" and "Virtual Entente Victory." But the head-lines are no more diverse than the views expressed in the text. The analytical, business-like comments of a French general appear next to hysterical lamentations from some returned traveler who sees the Allied armies on the verge of destruction, and blandly optimistic utterances from some unnamed "Washington" source. The editorials, meanwhile, may do anything from pointing out the deadly peril to the allied cause if some railway junction should "fall" to the German assault, to execrating the Administration, the War Department, Congress, and the American people because several million American soldiers are not now present in the fighting.

The man or woman trained to estimate the weight of authority in sources, to calculate with a close approach to probability the elements of historical cause and effect, can do nothing better than make it his business to preach steadiness, sobriety and calmness under such circumstances. This will not be found an easy task. It will necessitate no inconsiderable preparation, but in practice it will be found that three sources of information are most suggestive—quotations from German sources regarding military methods and intentions; comments from French sources—

but above all a memory of the precedents established during this particular war. During the last German offensives, for instance, whenever panic-struck Americans were encountered, fairly cringing before the head-lines, it was a source of undeniable satisfaction to be able to remind them that during the present war no offensive on either side had been able by one attack to destroy an enemy army with the single exception of the Servian and Rumanian defeats, in both of which cases the German powers were able from the start to take their outnumbered antagonists in the rear as well as the front. Every other offensive, no matter how terrific, has invariably been stopped. One needed, in fact, no especial training in military science to be able to use this generalization, only an historical cast of mind.

If every American teacher of history, in school or in college, were to make it his business to get a genuine understanding of the nature of military operations and to use this knowledge to steady the panic-struck, to restrain the blindly optimistic, to spread knowledge of the real bearing of military cause and effect, it would do a good deal to counteract the damage done by the raw, unbaked stuff poured out daily by newspapers, side by side with illuminating and valuable material.

The same task might well be essayed by every teacher with a knowledge of historical evidence, in regard to the nature of the chief enemy power. The attitude of the American toward Germany is liable to be marked by more sentiment than reason, simply because of the limitless flood of articles, stories, write-ups and editorials about them with which he has been engulfed. Some of the sentiment takes the childish form of abusing "the Hun" as a fiend and monster, of hating all Germans, of demanding the extirpation of the whole race. Now while no person trained in historical methods of thought can deny the individual and collective atrocities, of which the German army, and Government, and numerous German persons have been guilty, he is at the same time debarred from overlooking the other qualities in the German character. Everything that was good in German literature, institutions, civilization before the outbreak of this war, remains as it was. It is his duty, therefore, to point out that Germany and the Germans are going to continue to exist, no matter what the outcome of this war, and the rest of the human race must be prepared to make the best of the situation. The hateful thing about our enemies is not that they are Germans, but that they are acting under an

atrocious military ideal in such a way as to make themselves a danger to human civilization.

On the other hand, there is a more dangerous and a more insidious form of sentimental judgment on Germans which arises from what has been called "American good nature." This consists of the refusal to believe that the Germans really differ in their political and social beliefs from ourselves, and the consequent faith that if the Germans are only treated kindly and made to feel that the United States intends no evil to them, the war will immediately be stopped. It is the business of every student of historical evidence to use his influence to make his pupils and his neighbors realize that the German people are absolutely under the control of political and social beliefs which make it impossible for them to respect anything but superior force in international relations. It is the business of teachers and historical students to show Americans that Germans are neither devils nor hypocrites nor political slaves, but people who honestly believe that their whole future happiness depends upon their state possessing an organized force too strong for any single state or combination of states to risk opposing in arms, and controlling absolutely all the products of the earth which may be needed for its future industrial development. The only possible answer that the German people could make to such assurances of friendly intentions as these well-meaning but ignorant idealists advocate would be, "If, as you say, you love us, then you must let us have what we want." There is no task more important, it seems to me, than that of getting our people not to hate the Germans, but to understand them; that we may not be self-deceived into believing anything but that the Germans desire only their own future profit and are incapable of any other form of thought. And that task can be undertaken only by persons who know the meaning of national ideals and national history.

Most Americans wish a brief and simple formula to apply to the problems of this war. It saves thought and is a habit long fostered by our party politics, and persistently "played up to" by our newspapers. Under the circumstances there is little danger that Americans will be anything but patriotic, but there is every likelihood that they will be content with careless and superficial opinions upon matters where our habits of thought make it difficult for Americans to make swift and sound judgments. Such are the examples given above in the fields of military events and of national psychology, but these are only two of the most conspicuous. A still more important instance is given by the readiness with which Americans, relying upon headlines or editorials, give vent to unmeasured condemnation or exalted eulogy of the conduct of the war by the administration, and the vast army of civilian experts who have devoted their energies to the tremendous task. As a matter of fact, no judgment not based upon full evidence is worth anything, as every student of history or government

knows, but in no case have the headline artists or the editorial writers or the fervent patriots who unquestionably follow their lead anything approaching full information. War credulity—the eagerness to swallow rumors and stories passed from mouth to mouth—is a well-recognized form of war psychology. Against nothing so much as this is the historical student compelled by his respect for truth and for sound standards of judgment to protest unremittingly and mercilessly. If by his personal efforts he can in even the slightest degree contribute to the maintenance of a cool and steady public opinion he is in so far contributing to the national strength during a time of fearful strain and trial.

JOHNSTON, W. AND A. K. *Medieval and Modern European History Wall Maps*. Chicago: A. J. Nystrom & Co., 2249 Calumet Avenue. Price, \$28.00 for 24 maps, with stand and manual.

This is a series of class-room maps, size 40 by 30 inches, prepared to accompany the study of European history in schools and colleges. The maps have been produced by the best-known lithographers in Great Britain, the W. and A. K. Johnston firm of Edinburgh. They show the precision and care in the presentation of details which American map producers have found so difficult to attain. The color scheme is harmonious, at the same time the important lines and sections are made to stand forth so that they are visible across a class-room.

The editorship of the maps has been in charge of R. L. Poo'e, who is known to American scholars not only for his many historical writings, but also for the preparation of the greatest historical atlas in the English language. The subjects treated in the series, as is natural for an Oxford scholar, are largely political. Beginning with the Roman Empire, the first map shows in a number of colors the growth of Roman territory. Three maps show the early Middle Ages—the routes of barbarian invaders, the situation in 476, and in 814, while several insets show on a smaller scale conditions in 500, 565 and 843. Of particular interest is Map No. 4, depicting clearly the territorial growth of the Frankish kingdom from 481 to 814. Three plates show the later Middle Ages in 962, 1190 (the Crusades), and 1360. Three charts are devoted to Europe in 1519, 1648, and 1702. The Napoleonic period is treated in two plates; one of which gives views of Europe in 1801, 1803, 1806 and 1809; and the other, on a large scale, the Napoleonic arrangements as they were in 1810. The territorial changes in Europe in the nineteenth century are shown in two maps, for the periods 1814 to 1863 and 1863 to 1897, respectively. An excellent map shows Europe in 1914. Of topical maps there are several, the most important being the growth of Prussia, the German Empire and its colonies, three economic maps of England, the age of discoveries, the Balkans from 1861 to 1878 and from 1878 to 1914, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Russia. The latter is especially valuable for its clear presentation of the territorial growth of the Russian empire. Throughout the entire series, not only western Europe, but the east as well, is clearly shown. It is possible to trace the rise and decline of the several Slavic states, of Sweden, and of the Turkish power. For the political, military, and diplomatic history of Europe the series is invaluable. C.

Practical Suggestions for the History Teacher

The Use of the Outline Method in the Teaching of History

BY MARY S. GOLD, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, ST. MARY'S HALL, FARIBAULT, MINN.

The use of the outline method in the teaching of history is necessary if the aim is to inculcate a sense of proportion as well as the ability to remember facts in the right order. Teachers should guard against using the method after it has accomplished its purpose, for then it may destroy interest in the vitality of the subject.

Outlines of various kinds may be made, but the underlying principles of logic and proportion and the mechanical rules remain the same. The rule for careful alternation of numbers and letters must not be assumed, but carefully taught from the first and strictly adhered to. The main, or introductory topic, of a section should bear the same relation to its group as the topic sentence to a paragraph. The concluding topic, if the end of the subject has been reached, clearly should have the value of a conclusion. The inexperienced pupil finds great difficulty in making the most important topics stand out, and often gets lost in a maze of detail which he is afraid to leave out, and is only rescued by the marginal topic or black print starting a new paragraph. For the teaching of outline work, a part of the text that is not of absorbing interest may be chosen; for instance, the period of the Samnite Wars rather than the romantic period of Hannibal. The outline should be started in class by the teacher at the board. The subject and first main topic are quickly supplied by the pupils who have their books open. Sub-topics are then supplied in order by the class, topical form in each case being required as a satisfactory recitation. This practice in class of changing a sentence to the form of a topic, using nouns or equivalent participle forms, is excellent drill. The assignment for the following day should be to hand in an outline completing that already started in class. The outlines on the Second and Third Samnite Wars are examples of such work handed in. The finished outline may be put in the notebook for use as review, though the teacher knows that it has already served its purpose, if principles of form seem to have been grasped.

Such instruction is necessary before a pupil can prepare an outline for himself as basis for theme work. Examples of such outlines are the one on "The Crusades" and the one on "Roman Characteristics and Methods." It is just as necessary before a pupil can summarize a period of importance in outline form for the sake of convenience in preparing for an examination. An example of the use of such an outline is the one on plebeian progress. Again, an assignment may be given in the following manner: Bring to class an outline from pages 137-143 in which the main topics shall be in the form of questions and the sub-topics of answers to those questions. This

method is particularly helpful in starting a new subject where a more advanced text-book is used, as in economics or civics.

The tabular outline in which the paper is ruled off into sections, entitled, for example, Executive, Administrative, Legislative, etc., can be made with the same attention to logical sequence, proportion, and the use of the topic form rather than sentence structure.

The following outlines are the work of pupils in actual class work:

OUTLINE FROM TEXT-BOOK—BOTSFORD, ANCIENT HISTORY FOR BEGINNERS. AGE OF PUPIL, 15.

H. The Second Samnite War, 326-304 B. C.

1. Peace—*a.* Strength gained by Rome. *b.* A period of strength for Rome.
2. Reinforcing of Naples by Samnites.
3. Success for Rome at first.
4. Caudine Pass.
5. Later—rejection of treaty by Rome.
 - a.* Lucius Papirius Cursor and Quintus Publilius Philo.
6. Lucius Papirius Cursor.
 - a.* Character.
 - b.* Discipline.
7. Roman means of controlling acquired territory.
8. Roman conquest and new enemies.
9. Samnium, 309 B. C. Papirius, victory.
10. Samnite free and former treaty.

I. Third Samnite War, 298-290 B. C.

1. Organization of acquired territory by Rome.
2. Invasion of Italy by Celts.
3. Democratic uprising against Rome, the stronghold of aristocracy.
4. Sentium.
5. Samnites dependent allies of Rome.
6. Strife ended, but cause of Roman appetite for plunder.

OUTLINE FROM TEXT-BOOK—BOTSFORD. AGE OF PUPIL, 14.

H. Second Samnite War, 326-304.

1. Cause; reinforcing of Naples by Samnites.
2. Varying of fortunes.
3. Pontius, Samnian leader, 321 B. C.
4. Election of Lucius Papirius Cursor and Quintus Publilius Philo.
5. Appius Claudius Cæsus, great Roman statesman, 312 B. C.
6. Acquiring of territory by roads and colonies by Romans.
7. Joining of Etruscans and Umbrians to Samnites.
8. Ravaging of Etruria and capture of Samnite strongholds by Romans.
9. Results, Samnites free; renewal of former treaty.

I. Third Samnite War, 298-290 B. C.

1. Joining of Celts, Umbrians and Lucanians to Samnites.
2. Inspiring and directing of coalition by Samnites.
3. Sentium decisive battle, 295 B. C.

4. Romans victorious.
5. Sue for peace by Manius Curius Dentatus.
6. Inhabitants of plain and mountain slaves to Romans, Volscians and Aequians.

OUTLINE OF TEXT-BOOK—GOODSPEED. AGE OF PUPIL, 18.

- G. The Second Samnite War.
 1. Allies to Rome in Apulia and mountain tribes.
 2. Eastern and western front.
 3. Long, obstinate struggle.
 4. Caudine Forks.
 5. Latulæ and revolt of Capua.
 6. Trouble with Etruria.
 7. Latin colonies.
 8. Via Appia.
- H. The Third Samnite War.
 1. Reappearance of Celts.
 2. Battle of Sentium.
 3. Roman hegemony.
 - a. Supreme authority from upper Apennines to foot of Italy.
 - b. No more mountain trouble.
- I. Difficulties with Magna Graecia.
 1. Friendly relations with Greeks.
 2. Treaty between Rome and Tarentum.
 3. War with Pyrrhus.
 - a. Aid of Tarentum.
 - b. Heracleia.
 - c. Asculum.
 - d. Cineas in Rome.
 1. Assembly of kings.
 2. Intervention of Carthage.
 - e. Tarentum subdued.

OUTLINE FROM BOTSFORD. AGE OF PUPIL, 14.

- H. The Second Samnite War.
 1. Peace of fifteen years between Rome and Samnium.
 2. Roman's gain of strength.
 - a. Overthrow of Latin League.
 - b. Formation of new tribes.
 - c. Fortified colonies in Latium and Campania.
 3. Naples attacked by Rome.
 - a. Second Samnite War caused by siege of Naples.
 - b. Reinforcement of Naples by the Samnites.
 4. Varied fortunes.
 5. Pontius, Samnite leader at Caudine Pass.
 6. Lucius Cursor, greatest leader.
 7. Appian Way, road from Rome to Capua.
 8. Etruscans and Umbrians join Samnium.
 9. Freedom of Samnium remains.
- I. The Third Samnite War.
 1. Aim of Rome to cut Samnium from Umbria and Etruria.
 2. Work of organization cut short by invading Celtic race.
 - a. Invasion of Greece, Italy and Asia Minor.
 3. All against Rome.
 4. Inspiration and direction by Samnites.
 5. Determination of Italian peninsula by this war.
 6. Decisive battle at Sentium.
 7. Religious act of Decius.
 - a. Little effect on barbarians.
 - b. Romans rallied by it.
 8. Rome, victorious.
 9. Samnites, dependant allies of Rome.
 10. Strife between plain and hill.
 - a. Civilization triumphant at great cost.
 - b. Topic to show effect upon Rome.

(This outline was made by a pupil whose recitation work is very inferior.)

ROMAN CHARACTERISTICS. AGE OF PUPIL, 14.

OUTLINE FOR A THEME MADE FROM THE SAME CHAPTER AS THE OUTLINES ON THE SAMNITE WARS.

- Civilized low-landers.
1. Patriotic.
 2. Simplicity of life.
 3. Superstitions.
 - a. Thank offerings to gods.
 - b. Fear of divine punishment.
 - c. Omens read by Augurs.
 4. Wisdom.
 - a. In war.
 - b. In government.
 - c. Great organizers.
 - d. Strict disciplinarians.
 5. Brave and daring.
 - a. Furious fighters.
 - b. Attitude of Senators at sack of Rome.
 6. Lust for
 - a. Land.
 - b. Plunder.
 - c. Control.
 - d. Renown.
 7. Patricians powerful, domineering, pompous.
 8. Plebeians humble, obedient, brave.
 9. Papirius, an ideal Roman.
 - a. Quick mind.
 - b. Strict disciplinarian.
 - c. Warlike, brave, daring.
 - d. Firm, wise.
 - e. Noble, generous.
 - f. Unwearying, strong, full of energy.

METHODS OF GOVERNMENT, ETC.

- A. Rulers: Consuls. In time of war: Dictator and Master of Horse.
- B. Military organization and tactics.
 1. Reform.
 - a. Pay for service.
 - b. Rank according to experience.
 2. Organization and tactics.
 - a. Maniples, ten in a line.
 - b. Legions—light and heavy armed.
- C. Methods of organizing and settling conquered territory.
 1. Military roads.
 2. Colonies—Roman and Latin.
- D. Use of colonies to spread language and ways.
 1. Troops, ships, and crews furnished by colonies.
 2. Trade with allies.
- E. Power to coin money and make war or peace.
- F. Federal system—centralized power in Rome.
- G. Chance of colonies to better condition.
- H. Privileges based on loyalty.
- I. Official ceremonies and attendants of state.
 1. "Triumphs."
 2. Sacrifices.
 3. Curule chairs.
 4. Lictors.
 5. Wearing of toga.
- J. Result: One great power of ancient world.

OUTLINE FOR A THEME.

THE CRUSADES.

- A. Character and causes.
 1. Place in history.
 - a. Feudalism.

- b. Bands of nobles.
- c. Continuous conflict—eight crusades.
- d. Chapter in age-long struggle between East and West.
- 2. Causes.
 - a. Greek call for aid against the infidel.
 - b. Grievances against the Turk.
 - c. New form of pilgrimage—"armed pilgrims."
 - d. Greed.
 - e. Spirit of adventure.
 - f. Escape from punishment for crime.
- B. The story.
 - 1. First Crusade and preliminary movements.
 - 2. Latin States in Syria and the military orders.
 - 3. Second Crusade, a failure.
 - 4. Third Crusade.
 - 5. Fourth Crusade and Latin Empire at Constantinople.
 - 6. Latin Crusades.
 - 7. Why the Crusades ceased.
- C. Results upon Western Europe.
 - 1. Progress in culture and retard of Mohammedan advance.
 - 2. Intellectual results.
 - 3. Commercial results.
 - 4. Political and social results.

REFERENCES:

- Archer, "Crusade of Richard I."
 Scott, "Ivanhoe" and "Talisman."
 Robinson, "History of Western Europe."
 Emerton, "Medieval Europe."

OUTLINE TAKEN FROM TEST PAPER.

(Text in use, Goodspeed.)

The steps made in plebeian progress were as follows:

- 1. Result of First Rebellion—tribunes.
 - a. Power of protecting plebeians.
 - b. Power in Comitia Tributa.
- 2. Veto by tribunes in Comitia Centuriata.
- 3. Formation of new tribes.
 - a. Emancipation of clients.
 - b. More tribunes.
- 4. Veto by tribunes in Senate.
- 5. Admission of plebeians to Senate.
- 6. Plebeians become magistrates.
- 7. Second secession.
 - a. Right of appeal.
 - b. Alleviation from debt.
 - c. Legislative power from Senate to Comitia Tributa.

Directions for Observation Work and Practice Teaching in History

BY A. T. VOLLWEILER, INSTRUCTOR IN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Most of our colleges and universities now offer a course in the methods of teaching history. The best of these courses include well directed observation work and practice teaching in city or university high schools. One of the difficult problems encountered in this connection is that of giving directions in such a manner that these two phases of the work may be begun and continue in an efficient manner. Type-written copies of the following outlines are used for this purpose at the University of North Dakota. Teachers of history in secondary schools may derive from them some suggestions that will aid them in their daily work.

DIRECTIONS FOR OBSERVATION WORK IN HIGH SCHOOL HISTORY.

I. THE REVIEW.

- 1. How was the previous lesson treated? Was the review mainly done by the teacher, or did the pupils contribute their share?
- 2. What points in the previous lesson were particularly emphasized? How were the relation and significance of events handled?
- 3. How much of the period was given up to the review?

II. THE NEW LESSON.

- 1. What relation has the new lesson to the previous one?
- 2. Questioning: Did questions call for thought as well as facts? Did all pupils feel responsible for every question? Were the questions fairly distributed so that many pupils were called upon? Pro-

portion of direct questions? Did the pupils seem to understand and follow the questions?

3. Note the relative amount of talking by the teacher and the pupils. Any provision for individual differences? Were duller pupils neglected? What methods were used in case of dull, diffident or unprepared members of the class? Any evidence of marking time on the part of bright pupils or of slow pupils being dragged along?

4. Incentives, motives, interest and attention: How was attention or interest shown by the class (voluntary discussion, questions, objections, etc.)? If interest and attention were lacking, explain the cause. If pupils were interested, was their interest due to the subject-matter itself, the teacher's personality, or to tricks and devices in the method of presentation? Did the interest keep up during the whole recitation? Has the teacher the confidence and co-operation of all the students?

5. Leading problem or problems in the new lesson: What were the main points made in developing the lesson? Were text-books used? One or several? Did the recitation on the text-book material consist of a repetition of the text, explanation of difficulties, interpretations, amplification, or criticism?

6. Management of collateral work: Were reference books used? As primary sources of information or as training in library work? Was there a definite and economical assignment of reference work? Were notes on reading required? Did pupils make contributions from their readings?

7. Notebook and illustrative materials: Were notebooks required? Character of exercise? The way

and extent to which maps, pictures, charts, diagrams, etc., were used?

8. Was the material related to present-day life? Illuminated by elements in experience of pupils?

9. Summary: How was the summary made at the close of the lesson? Did it touch on vital points?

III. THE ASSIGNMENT.

1. Was care taken in making the assignment? Did it include work for review as well as for the new lesson? Did it provide definite problems so that the pupils understood exactly what they were expected to do? Was there any special attempt to arouse interest in the work assigned? Did the teacher anticipate any of the difficulties by preliminary treatment, by lecture or conversation? Was the assignment taken down? Were geographical or chronological backgrounds pointed out? Were essential facts pointed out? How much, if any, supervised study? How organized?

2. What special forms did the assignment take? (a) problems; (b) topics; (c) detailed questions; (d) pages? Was collateral reading assigned? How and how much? How much time was given to the assignment?

IV. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING METHODS PRE-
DOMINATED? (a) Question and answer. (b) Lecture. (c) Laboratory. (d) Socratic or Developmental? Which are typically American? European? Which are based on the text? Which on the teacher?

V. GENERAL MANAGEMENT.

1. Maps, diagrams, pictures and other illustrative materials should be in constant use. Those for the day's lesson should be arranged before the recitation begins.

2. Attention and interest should be kept up. A sign of both is voluntary discussion, questions and objections. When these are lacking the cause must be sought, and some remedy applied.

3. Dull, diffident, or unprepared members of the class must not be neglected. Special methods may need to be devised for these.

4. Careful attention must always be given by the teacher to mistakes in English on the part of the students. The teacher's own grammar and pronunciation may need some attention.

VI. SOME GENERAL PHASES OF THE RECITATION.

1. Testing results: Were pupils held strictly responsible for outside preparation? Was the testing of their preparation set apart or mixed in with other phases of the recitation? Were pupils kept informed of their successes or failures? Were they tested whether they had learned their lessons or were they tested as to their ability to apply and interpret? Was accuracy of knowledge in definitions insisted upon?

2. Lecturing: Did the teacher contribute anything by lecturing? How much? Was it formal or informal? Was it justified? Did the pupils take notes? What advantage had the teacher through

wide knowledge and independence of text-book? Was the teacher's wider knowledge used judiciously?

3. Principles and qualities: Were the principles of unity, proportion and coherence applied in the lesson? Did it contain the qualities of clearness, force, and fine adaptation?

4. Time lost through indistinct speech of teacher or pupil, unnecessary talking, distractions of various kinds, etc.

5. Discipline.

6. A recitation should bring to the student who has mastered the text lesson thoroughly something outside of a review of it. A discussion, a 5 to 10 minute lecture, a reading, etc., may accomplish this.

SUGGESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR CONDUCTING A HIGH SCHOOL RECITATION IN HISTORY.

I. TYPE OF RECITATION.

1. History recitations may assume various forms. Determine in advance the form you are to use and make your plans accordingly.

2. The form of the recitation will determine the amount of time you yourself will consume. Keep this in mind and do not rob the pupils of time legitimately theirs.

II. REVIEW OF THE PREVIOUS LESSON.

1. Determine what points in the previous lesson or lessons you wish to review. Indicate these under method of procedure in your lesson plan.

2. Have in mind just how much time you intend to give to the previous lesson or lessons, to the new lesson, and to the assignments of next day's lesson. Make a practice of adhering to this schedule rather rigidly.

III. THE NEW LESSON.

1. Determine how it is to be introduced. Keep in mind its relation to the previous lesson or lessons.

2. Type of question: Attempt to keep a reasonable proportion of thought and memory questions. Avoid too many direct questions. Guard yourself against the use of double, triple, and a cumbersome wording of ordinary questions. Write out six or eight leading questions in advance, and let them appear under method of procedure in your lesson plan.

Ask a few questions that show some original thinking and that require a new organization of the student's knowledge or the application of that knowledge to present-day conditions. This will keep the recitation from being a mere memory exercise and develop ability to think.

Example: "Lesson on Mohammedanism." In what way, if any, is Mohammedanism superior to Christianity? Christianity to Mohammedanism? Discuss the doctrine of fatalism and compare it with predestination.

3. The amount of talking and explaining done by the teacher will usually be small in comparison to that done by the pupils.

4. Each lesson will ordinarily have a leading problem. Pupils should have the main problem clearly

in mind in order that they may more easily grasp the main points developed during the recitation period.

5. A summary at the close of each lesson as well as at the conclusion of a series of lessons is usually worth while.

IV. ASSIGNMENT OF THE NEXT DAY'S WORK.

1. Specific directions should usually be given for the study of the new lesson. Often some will need to be given for the review of the previous lesson or lessons.

2. Allow yourself ample time for this phase of the

work. Be sure that the pupils understand what is demanded of them, and later see that they come up to these demands according to their best ability.

3. Collateral reading should be carefully assigned. One good way to do this is to make out cards and post them in the library. Assignments of special topics may be given either in class or placed on slips and passed out to individual pupils. Books used should be suitable and adapted to high school students, and not of college calibre, as is so often the case with references given in text-books.

Some Problems in Teaching the History of American Political Parties¹

BY EARLE D. ROSS, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN SIMPSON COLLEGE.

In these days, when, as never before, we of the history gild are being held to account for the results of our labors in helping to form the principles, and all too often the prejudices, of an embryo electorate (of both sexes), and when all of us must confess, more or less, to grievous sins of omission and commission, cannot we do something to make the teaching of the history of our political parties more real and effective?

The evils of an unintelligent and indiscriminating support of party are too general and patent to need special discussion. Spencer's keen analysis of the political bias or Ostrogorski's satirical comments on the "religion" of party loyalty are not needed to bring forcefully to our attention this menace to representative government; each recurring first Tuesday after the first Monday of November furnishes some new and striking instances. After all that has been said and written and even preached about this matter, the thralldom of party tradition and convention still holds the great mass of the electorate.

Now, in so far as this blind devotion to party is created or strengthened by false notions regarding the history of parties—as to what they have stood for in the past and as to the relation of present-day parties to those of previous times—our teaching is at fault. It is the contention of this paper that our teaching of the history of parties has not done what it should to represent their development in a true and clear light, and that our teaching of American history in this, as in many other particulars, must be reconstructed if it is to have the influence which it should in training for good citizenship. It is not urged here that a special study be made of party history in schools or colleges (though Professor Woodburn has shown some of the attractive possibilities of such courses in the grades), but that in our general courses in American history, from the grades up, political parties be treated more truly and adequately. Writers and teachers in political science of late years have been doing good service in the field of party govern-

ment—in giving a better understanding of the functions, organization and practical workings of political parties. But an understanding of these, as of all other existing problems, is most incomplete without an adequate historical background, and it is just this that the student so often fails to get. What does it profit for the teacher of government to expatiate upon the evils of blind partisanship if the student has got the impression from his course in American history (which has but confirmed the prejudice gained at home) that the existing parties have come down to us as a sacred heritage from the fathers, and with their main principles as fixed and unchanging as the faith once for all delivered unto the saints? We history teachers certainly cannot shirk our responsibility in dealing with this problem.

In this, as in so many of our professional shortcomings, we can put a part of the blame upon our textbooks, as it is too often true that, like textbook like teacher, and our texts in American history surely offer abundant and obvious opportunities for fault-finding, no member of our craft these days so humble but that he ventures to offer some censure of our inadequate tools. Of late our histories have been much taken to task for giving an undue emphasis to political development. But while one must admit the desirability of a much fuller consideration of social history, is it not true that political history, from the way that it has usually been taught, has never had a fair chance? In the case of party history the textbook treatment has been wholly inadequate and often misleading. The doings of political parties are ordinarily relegated to a brief, hurried paragraph or to the obscurity of a foot note, and the writer of a recent manual which, to quote the preface, seeks to meet the needs of "students who are about to enter seriously upon the study of United States history," cuts the knot by practically ignoring parties. Some of our college texts, it should be said, deal with party history in a fuller and more understanding manner; but in the secondary field, where the dependence upon the text is necessarily much greater, the need has not been met, even passably. But to secure the basis for adequate treatment in our texts we must have more

¹ A portion of a paper read before the History Conference of the University of Iowa, November 26, 1917.

monographs in party history; for, as Professor Jameson so aptly puts it, while the investigators march in the front ranks of the historical army the textbook writers usually trail far behind like camp followers.

The effort to find some general principle in terms of which our main party divisions may be explained has been a fruitful source of misconception. The theory of strict and loose construction of the constitution, for which that brilliant writer, Professor Alexander Johnston, was largely responsible, has been the conventional explanation. But, as Professor Woodburn and others have pointed out, the administration inevitably tends to be liberal in its construction, while the opposition just as inevitably tends to be strict. Examples appear throughout our history. One has but to recall the exchange of positions by parties in Jefferson's administrations, the invoking of state rights by the Federalists in the War of 1812, the personal liberty laws of the Whigs, the Republican appeal to the authority of the states over national elections to save their cause before the Electoral Commission in 1876, as well as the favor shown by the Democrats to the creation of this extra-constitutional tribunal, and Cleveland's unprecedented use of the Federal troops in the Pullman strikes.

Another suggested basis of division is that between conservative and liberal. But while in certain periods parties can be classified in this way, there is no one party that has held either position consistently for any considerable time; parties have been changing sides in this respect as in the others. There have been certain times, too, when both parties seemed equally conservative or equally liberal. For instance, in the campaigns of 1848, 1852 and 1880 both were devoid of any forward-looking policy. And at other times the two elements are found within the same party, as in the progressive movements in the old parties. During the national canvass last fall one of the candidates for Vice-President said, with much emphasis and an impressive gesture, that the two main parties in this country had always been as far apart as the poles. But, in spite of such high authority, the student of our political history must conclude that the poles in this case are even more imaginary than the geographical symbols.

To even the most superficial student of party history it should be evident that continuity of party name has never signified continuity of ideas and principles. The so-called party of Jefferson, which is more correctly the offspring of Jackson, has gone through so many transformations that its forebears would fail to recognize it. The party was reconstructed on a new basis in the years from 1865 to 1876, and there is nothing but the name to connect the Cleveland Democracy of 1892 with the Bryan brand of 1896. Since those dissentious days the two elements have been gradually fusing into a new product. On the other side of the fence, the national Republican party was merged in the Union party during the Civil War, and the organization that bore its name following the war was really a new creation.

Again in the later eighties, through its close connection with big business, the character of the party was greatly changed, and we have all noted the influence of the progressive upheaval within its ranks. It would be most convenient for the student of political history if parties would only change their names when they change their ideas and leaders, but by so doing they might disillusion some of the devotees of the straight ticket.

The truth is that parties, thinking above all else of carrying elections, have been and are essentially opportunistic—inconsistent by their very nature. The party leader recognizes in his own peculiar way that "New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth." Now instead of trying to ignore or minimize these inconsistent and shifting ways of parties we should represent them in their true light. Are we not altogether too prone in our teaching to take parties at their face value, to conclude—or at any rate not to take the trouble to disprove—that they stood for what they pretended to? Too often we seek an authoritative and final statement of a party's program in its platform, forgetting Mr. Depew's aphorism that a party platform is to get in on and not to stand on. We need as teachers to cultivate a political mindedness, to get something of the spirit of the "organization," so to speak, and the point of view of politicians of different periods and of different types.

But the student should not be made cynical toward things political by a merely negative treatment of party history. The part that political parties have played in the development of our system of government, and the strong, true statesmanship that has emerged, sometimes through party, sometimes in spite of it, should not be overlooked.

Authorities on party government tell us that the great functions of political parties in this country are to give expression to public opinion and to unify and co-ordinate the executive and legislative departments. History should determine to what extent parties have fulfilled these functions. Other important influences of a positive sort that parties have had in our history may be discovered, as, for instance, the nationalizing influence of party, so well explained by Professor Allen Johnson.

Instances where leaders have risen above party or have forced some issue upon their parties might well receive much more emphasis. Such cases appear throughout our history. Episodes like the following stand out: Hamilton's decision for Jefferson rather than for Burr in the election of 1800; Jackson and Nullification; Taylor and the admission of California; Douglas's opposition to the application of popular sovereignty in Kansas; Lincoln's decision against the Crittenden Compromise; the policy of the "war Democrats"; Hayes's fight for sound money and civil service reform, and Cleveland's tariff message of 1887 and his consistent and persistent support of the gold standard. The statement that the general tendency of party organizations is to be opportunistic is not inconsistent with the fact that at critical times parties

may manifest a true and high devotion to principle, and that party leaders may at times rise above the restraints of party connection.

The lessons of the third or minor party should not be neglected. The value of the work of the advanced reformers or propagandists who agitate for measures that have not yet gained a wide approval or interest should be noted, as well as the eagerness with which the old parties appropriate these erstwhile radical, not to say revolutionary, ideas so soon as they become available issues. But in the light of our national ideals and traditions, a clear distinction should be made between questions which may furnish legitimate political issues and those, like racial and sectarian differences, which may not properly be so utilized. History, too, should settle pretty conclusively the question as to whether, under our party system, there is any probability of a minor party becoming a major one. The third party movement proper should, of course, never be confused with a mere factious demonstration.

As a final suggestion of a few of the many problems with which party history should deal, a word should be said about the study of the independents, those who have kept aloof from definite party allegiance. Such a study in our history centers mainly about the activities of the independent reform group, who, hated and feared by both the regular parties, exerted no inconsiderable influence upon our politics for about thirty years. Beginning as the organizers of the Liberal Republican movement in 1872, they constituted the "Mugwumps" of 1884, and made their last stand as the anti-imperialists of 1900. The study of this group should help to answer the much-disputed question as to the value of such independent activity. There are many other valuable lessons that might be drawn from the history of this unique band of reformers, but ordinarily, even in advanced courses, their work is barely touched upon.

To sum up certain of the results to be hoped for from the more truthful and adequate teaching of party history, largely made possible by more and better special studies and the consequent improvement in the textbook treatment, the student should come to feel that parties are to be judged solely by what they stand for at a given time and not by the mistakes or achievements of some organizations of the past that bore the same names. He should in no way be misled by the perverted history which the party spellbinder cites for his purpose, much as the devil cites Scripture for his. He will certainly be convinced that the present Democratic party, whatever other sins may be laid at its door, did not wreck the Union, and that its rival, whatever valid claims to distinction it may have, did not preserve our national integrity. And, in spite of all campaign and birthday dinner speeches to the contrary, he will hardly be persuaded that the shade of Thomas Jefferson is standing sponsor for Tammany Hall, or that the spirit of Abraham Lincoln is guiding the councils of the organization in the city of brotherly love.

Now one can well imagine the withering contempt with which the professional politician would contemplate an assault upon his rule from the history classroom. Tweed declared that he didn't mind what the papers said about him, as most of his people couldn't read, and his successors all over the country might well say that their supporters are innocent of history reading—or of such reading to any purpose. But let us hope that the day is not so far distant when large numbers of the electorate will be familiar with real political history, and that, in a saving number of cases at least, acting upon their knowledge, the truth will make them free from blind partisanship. It rests with us as history writers and teachers to help to hasten that day. The results may not be very apparent in a generation, but we will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that we have done our bit—that we have been better enabled

"To serve the present age,
Our calling to fulfill."

A FEW SUGGESTIVE DISCUSSIONS OF AMERICAN PARTY HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

Bryce, J., "The American Commonwealth."

Fess, S. E., "History of Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States."

Ford, H. J., "The Rise and Growth of American Politics."

Goodnow, F. J., "Politics and Administration."

Gordy, J. P., "Political History of the United States."

Johnson, A., "The Nationalizing Influence of Party," *Yale Review*, XV, 283-292 (November, 1906).

Johnston, A., and Woodburn, J. A., "American Political History."

Johnston, A., "American Politics."

Lowell, A. L., "Public Opinion and Popular Government."

McLaughlin, A. C., "The Courts, the Constitution, and Parties."

Macy, J., "Political Parties in the United States, 1846-1861."

Macy, J., "Party Organization and Machinery."

Ostrogorski, M., "Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties."

Ostrogorski, M., "Democracy and the Party System."

Ray, P. O., "Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics."

Sloane, W. M., "Party Government in the United States of America."

Woodburn, J. A., "Political Parties and Party Problems."

Woodburn, J. A., "Political Parties and Party Leaders," *HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE*, VI, 312-315 (December, 1915).

Songs and History Teaching

BY CONSTANCE M. HALLOCK, HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, READING, PA.

One of the greatest difficulties in teaching history by the use of text-books is the way the printed page stands between the child and the times he is studying. For some children, paragraph sixty-three irrevocably separates the year 1775 from 1776, which is in paragraph sixty-four; and it is almost impossible to conceive that Sir Walter Raleigh, who flourished in chapter six, could possibly still be alive in chapter seven, when they had finished Elizabeth's reign, reviewed the Tudor period and gone on to make the acquaintance of goggle-eyed King James. "Long ago" means when grandmother was a little girl; it also means when John yielded to his barons at Runnymede and when Alfred burned the cakes. Henry Clay is about as remote in the mind of the ordinary fourteen or fifteen-year-old as Henry the Navigator or Henry of Navarre. One thing only the fifteen-year-old is sure of—they may have been real people, since "the book says so," but there was something different about people then. They weren't quite the same sort of human beings as we of the class of 1919. Pilgrim fathers were born, lived and died Pilgrim fathers; it isn't reasonable to think of them as next-door neighbors of somebody, not very different from our own next-door neighbors who were shovelling snow from their front walks when we got up this morning.

Such at least seems to be the attitude of mind of the average youngster on arriving at high school; and among the problems that confront the history teacher is that of making real the people "in the book." Sometimes you can get at it by gossip, though there is the likelihood that your pupils will remember Elizabeth's red hair and three hundred dresses, but forget the weakness of Parliament; you can show them pictures and send them to movies and museums; and among other things, you can teach them songs—often the actual songs that were sung by the people they are studying about.

Do not think I mean the history teacher must be a prima donna—if that were the case, these words would never have been written. All she needs is the ability to carry a tune—or perhaps not even that if she can have the use of a piano; a complete familiarity with both words and air of a song before she begins to teach it; and a certain "pep" in her leading which makes the children anxious to sing.

In our own school, we have the use of the assembly room and piano one afternoon a week after school; attendance of course is optional, but as we sometimes sing in class the songs we have learned in our afternoon meeting, we are constantly recruiting new attendants from those who "want to learn that song you had to-day." So far, the "singing class" has been held only in connection with English history, but there is no reason why it could not be tried in modern and American history classes as well, especially the former. It is difficult to play the piano and lead

with any kind of spirit at the same time, so we try to have one girl who can be depended upon, to play for us. The words of the songs are usually mimeographed and copies distributed among the girls, but if there is a blackboard the words can easily be learned from that. The air is learned simply by hearing it played once or twice, and then just starting in to sing it. Thus far we have made very little effort to sing with any particular skill, though I try to keep the girls from merely shouting when we sing rousing songs; the object in this sort of work is to get points of contact with as many different people or periods as possible, putting only enough time upon technical finish to keep from monotony. From Wednesday to Wednesday we may have covered sixty or seventy years in our class-room study; the songs that were "contemporary" last week may not be this week, so we are constantly learning others.

As to the songs themselves, it is rather an embarrassment of riches than lack of material which is troublesome. We began with the "Abridged Academy Song Book," published by Ginn & Co., which we used for such songs as "God Save the King," "The Campbells Are Coming," "Bonnie Dundee," "Men of Harlech," and "Scots Wha Hae." Somewhat fearful of the risibilities of school-girls, I hesitated about the latter on account of the dialect; but I need not have been afraid, for the simple, stirring music and the fiery brevity of the lines more than won them. That song they always asked for, no matter where our week's work might have been in point of time. In this book also are many English public school songs; but I found that some of the ones I liked best, such as the "Eton Boating Song," did not appeal to the girls. There was too much local color—allusions and turns of phrase that meant nothing in American schools, so that sort was dropped. But on the other hand the Harrow song, "In the Days of Old," in spite of similar features, was always spoken for, perhaps on account of the swinging music, or the whimsical idea back of the song. Public school songs may not be historical, strictly speaking, but they help to make our neighbors real, so I used them. For the same reason we sang others that were more ballads or folk-songs than political songs, such as "Killarney," "The Miller of the Dee," "The Low-Backed Car," "London Bridge," etc., all in this same book.

Another book we use a great deal is issued by Schirmer—"Reliquary of English Song," from 1250 to 1700, \$1.25 net. This begins with the old thirteenth-century lyric, "Sumer Is Icumen In," which is growing quite generally familiar with the revival of pageantry and May Day celebrations. It is not arranged as a round in this book, but it is perfectly easy to teach as such, for the song naturally falls into three or six parts. We sang it in three, and the girls were fascinated by the quaint minor harmony and the

way the parts worked into each other. Then there is a hunting-song of the time of Henry VIII, "The Hunt Is Up," the very embodiment of "Merrie England;" Shakespeare's "It Was a Lover and His Lass," with the sixteenth-century music; "The British Grenadiers" and that most gallant of all cavalier songs, "When the King Enjoys His Own Again;" two lovely little seventeenth-century lyrics, Herrick's "Gather Ye Rosebuds While Ye May" and Ben Jonson's "Have You Seen but a White Lily Grow;" and the ever-delightful "Sally in our Alley." There are many others, but these are the ones we have used or hope to use this year.

A third book is another Schirmer production, "Songs of the British Isles," in the "Household Series of Music Books," 50 cents. This contains among others "The Vicar of Bray," "The Harp That Once Through Tara's Halls," "Charlie Is My Darling," "The Girl I Left Behind Me," as political or patriotic songs; and beside them many old songs such as "John Peel," a hunting song; "The Keys of Heaven" with its familiar refrain; "Loch Lomond," "Within a Mile of Edinburgh Town," and the beautiful old Welsh lullaby, "All Through the Night."

Beside these there are Clifton Johnson's "Songs Everyone Should Know," by the American Book Company, 50 cents; and the group of old Christmas carols issued by Wellesley College, 25 cents, containing several old English ones—"I Saw Three Ships," "As Joseph Was A-Walking," the Oxford "Boar's Head" carol, and others.

Naturally, the patriotic songs are easier to sing in a group than the lyrical songs; but the only ones in all the above-mentioned that have been found too difficult for an untrained leader to teach to more or less untrained pupils without ruining the songs in the process are "Within a Mile of Edinburgh Town" and the two seventeenth-century lyrics mentioned in connected with the "Reliquary of English Song." A teacher who knew more about music could use them, or some girl who could sing might take them as solos, but they are rather beyond untrained group singing.

Our singing would doubtless horrify our real music-teacher; the methods are necessarily crude and the work superficial; but after all it is not a singing class, but a history singing class, and the results in interest have certainly been worth working for. The idea very likely would not do with boys, and might not with older girls; but it has been a most profitable experiment with little feminine high school freshmen and sophomores.

Mariano Marfil gives an interesting account of foreign affairs from March 15 to June 15, 1918, especially commenting on the German drive. The point of view of a Spaniard, here expressed, is of interest.

In the *Asiatic Review* for July "Shosanken" writes on "Japan and Siberia." Apparently he thinks the difficulties of an invasion of Siberia by Japan are too serious to warrant intervention.

Periodical Literature

EDITED BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

Paul-Louis Hervier's tribute to Mr. Hoover in *La Nouvelle Revue* for August, is the fifth of his American silhouettes, which have appeared in this magazine.

Louis Madelin's "Les Batailles de L'Aisne" in the August *Revue des Deux Mondes*, is of especial interest to those who are following the military tactics of the present war. The article is full of detail, especially as to the physical features of this great battle-ground.

So little has appeared in periodical literature, comparatively speaking, of operations on the Italian front, that Helena Gluchen's "The Mobile X-Ray Section on the Italian Front," in the August *Blackwood's* is of especial interest. In recounting her adventures as an X-Ray photographer, she includes much of interest regarding conditions as she found them there. She emphasizes particularly the severity of discipline in the Italian army, the cleanliness of the hospitals and efficiency of the surgeons, the high moral tone of the army, and the absence of red tape.

"The Indians of Albert Bay," by Victoria Hayward, in the *Canadian Magazine* for September, gives an excellent account of the customs and organization of the Indians in this region. The splendid illustrations, especially of the totem poles, make the article even more valuable.

In his article, "The Future of India" (*September Century*), Sir John Foster Fraser points out that the West owes more to the East in the fields of religion, philosophy and culture than the East can ever owe to the West in the field of government and political organization. "Great Britain," he says, "is successful in India because she has interfered as little as possible with the habits and desires of the various localities. . . . India is the cheapest governed country in the world. . . . It is the desire of the British people through Parliament to educate the Indians in self-government, so that when through evolution the great change is made, India will be in proper state to manage her own affairs and play her part along with the chosen men of the Dominion in deciding the destinies of the British Empire."

The second of Ernest Dimnet's articles on "The Real Paris" (*September Atlantic*) is an interpretation of Paris before 1914.

Prof. Franklin H. Giddings attacks the teaching of American history of our day in his vigorous and suggestive article, "Our Mythological History," which appears in the *September Forum*. He declares that true Americanism has not been taught in our schools, and there is need of readjustment such as "will change Washington the god to Washington the man, and will transform the Monroe doctrine of national isolation to the American doctrine of liberty for the world." He urges particularly the need of all-Americans learning the history of modern imperialism.

The *Cornhill Magazine* for August publishes Sir Henry Lucy's pertinent and suggestive article, "The Workingman in Parliament," in which he points out some of the probable far-reaching consequences of the general election which is to take place soon, and traces the position of the workingman in Parliament since his first appearance in 1874 to now, when he demands "nothing less than the sole care and direction of the affairs of the Empire."

Reports from the Historical Field

The California High School Teachers' Association held its sixth annual meeting at Berkeley, July 15 to 19. Prof. George M. Dutcher, of Wesleyan University, Conn., addressed one of the general sessions upon the topic, "Some New Aspects of History Teaching." At the history conference Mr. E. K. Stafford, of the Oakland Technical High School, acted as chairman. The following program was carried out: 1. "A History Course for High Schools as Suggested by the History Teachers of the Bay Section," by Miss E. I. Hawkins, Berkeley High School; 2. "The Report of the Commission Appointed to Recommend a One-Year Course in European History for High Schools," by Dr. N. A. N. Cleven, San Diego High School; and 3. "University Entrance Requirements in History and Changes that Should be Made," by Miss Anna G. Fraser, Oakland High School.

Prof. D. C. Shilling, of Monmouth College, has taken a year's leave of absence in order to engage in Y. M. C. A. work.

Mr. S. H. Zeigler, formerly of the West Philadelphia High School, has accepted an appointment as head of the Department of History and Civics in the East High School, of Cleveland, Ohio.

The Catholic Historical Review for July, 1918, contains three interesting articles upon Catholic history in America: "Catholic Explorers and Pioneers of Illinois," by Rev. J. B. Culemans; "Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies," by Rev. Edwin Ryan, and "New Netherland Intolerance," by Rev. F. J. Zwierlein.

"Library Books for High Schools" is the title of Bulletin Number 41 for the year 1917 of the United States Bureau of Education. The list, prepared by Miss Martha Wilson, contains a list of over two thousand works fitted for insertion in high school libraries. Occasional annotations giving the character of the contents are appended. One hundred and eighty-two titles are given under biography; sixty-eight under ancient history; eighty-one under European history; forty-three under history of England, and under American history, divided into a number of topics, there are listed one hundred and fifty-eight titles.

Number 15 of the Proceedings of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland gives an account of the meetings, and publishes some of the papers presented at Philadelphia, May 4 and 5, 1917; at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., December 1, 1917, and at Philadelphia on December 29, 1917.

In the July, 1918, number of *History*, the editors have printed the lecture of Prof. Andrew C. McLaughlin, of the University of Chicago, delivered at the University of London, May 7, 1918, entitled, "America's Entry Into the War: A Historical Statement." Under historical revisions, Miss E. E. Power contributes a study of the effect of the black death on rural organizations in England.

State laws relating to absent-voting of soldiers are analyzed in the *American Political Science Review* for August, 1918. The same number contains a summary upon the status of woman suffrage in foreign countries and a review of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on constitutional questions, 1914-1917.

The Missouri Historical Review for July, 1918, contains an account of the National Railway Convention held in St. Louis, 1849. Prof. E. M. Violette gives a sketch of the life

and work of Major General E. H. Crowder, United States Provost Marshal General, who was born in the village of Edinburgh, Md., in 1859. Seventeen pages of the issue are devoted to news concerning the activities of Missourians in the Great War.

The United States Bureau of Education has issued a leaflet reprinting the paper entitled, "Certain Defects in American Education and Remedies for Them," which was read by President Charles W. Eliot at the commencement of Reed College last June. Dr. Eliot points out the physical defects of our population and means of remedying them, and also the mental defects and the steps which should be taken by the educational authorities to overcome them.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education has begun the publication of a monthly journal entitled, *The Vocational Summary*. The number for August gives the days for conferences upon vocational education. It shows the relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Federal Board, and also the Board's work in aiding American foreign commerce, in reconstructing disabled soldiers and the work of the Board in training men, women and children for war emergency work.

School Life, another official monthly periodical, was begun with the issue for August, 1918, and is published by the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior. The August number contains many suggestions concerning the activities of schools during war times, and gives news and information concerning the educational world.

THE HISTORIAN'S TEN COMMANDMENTS.

The following statement was drawn up by Miss Isabel Roome Mann, a senior student in the Department of History of Vassar College. It was printed by the Department of History in May, 1918.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS FOR THE HISTORIAN.

I. Thou shalt have no other gods but Truth.

II. Thou shalt encourage the cataloguing and indexing of manuscripts; thou shalt see that they be accessible and not scattered over the face of the earth; thou shalt choose the subject of thy labor with great care, for documents, properly classified, are essential unto the writing of history.

III. Thou shalt not choose history as thy life career without equipping thyself with studies or "sciences" that are auxiliary unto history.

IV. Remember that thou maintain a critical attitude towards documents. Some of the labor thou shalt leave to others, but the "critical sense" must be thine. With it thou shalt examine texts, investigate authorship, classify sources, and deal with the mental operations of authors.

V. Consider history as evolutionary and society as a developing organism, that thy name may be enrolled as one of our greatest historians.

VI. Thou shalt examine thyself to ascertain if thy natural aptitudes have equipped thee for external criticism.

VII. Thou shalt not plagiarize.

VIII. Thou shalt not inject thine own conceptions into the works of others.

IX. Thou shalt secure thy facts, classify them and reason about them; thou shalt construct general formulæ; and thou shalt write up the results of thy labors in a suitable literary style.

X. Thou shalt show by thy understanding of the present, by thy method of work and critical attitude of mind, by thy broad-mindedness, toleration, and progressiveness, by thy understanding of the social evolution, that thou art a student of history.

THE WAR AND THE SCHOOLS.

"Democracy's Educational Problem," by Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, appears as Number 38 in the "Patriotism Through Education Series," issued by the National Security League. Professor Van Tyne claims that our historians have not been frank in their treatment of many phases of the history of the past, they have been too favorable to Prussia in not denouncing the work of Prussian militarists, and they have been too much biased against Great Britain in the treatment of England in American history.

The national prize of \$75 offered to the writer of the best essay on the war contributed to the several state contests for elementary teachers, has been awarded, through the action of the National Board for Historical Service, to Mr. William T. Miller, of Roslindale, Mass., a teacher in the Agassiz Grammar School, Jamaica Plains. The contestants ranking second and third are Miss Ethel Gray Eagan, Greenville, Ind., and Miss Anne Devany, of Minneapolis, Minn.

A full report of the conference upon "Americanization as a War Measure," called by the Secretary of the Interior and held in Washington, April 3, 1918, has appeared as a bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education, Number 18, for 1918. The text of Secretary Lane's stirring address is given entire.

"The Effect of the War on Southern Labor," particularly the effect upon negro workers, is shown in an article by Mr. N. N. Work, which appears in the *Southern Workman* for August, 1918.

"Historical Parallels," by D. H. Hill, shows most interesting similarities between war sentiment in the state of North Carolina in 1861-1862 and 1917. The paper appears in the Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of the State of North Carolina. The same number contains a number of special studies of Civil War conditions.

Mr. Raymond Moley has prepared for the Board of Education of Cleveland, Ohio, a series of lessons on American citizenship designed to be studied by men and women preparing for naturalization. The pamphlet is divided into a series of fifteen lessons covering the principal points in the history and political practices of the United States, closing with a lesson upon "Why the United States Is In the War." An appendix gives the most important parts of the United States Constitution, extracts from the Constitution of Ohio, extracts concerning public schools and public libraries of Cleveland, American patriotic songs, and reproduction of blanks used in the naturalization processes.

In the valuable War Information Series published by the University of North Carolina, Number 16 is entitled, "The Community Pageant: An Agency for the Promotion of Democracy." Among the topics treated are "Pageantry as a Form of Communal Activity," "The Choice of a Director," "Committees and Their Duties," and "The Subject Matter, Text, and Costumes for Local Pageants."

Number 14 of the series entitled, "Iowa and War," is a brief account of recent efforts to secure the adoption of a state flag for Iowa. The account is written by Miss Ruth A. Gallaher.

Americanization meetings for emphasizing the need of educating foreign language people in the American language, citizenship and American ideals, were held in many parts of the country on Flag Day, June 14. Persons who

are interested in the training of foreigners will receive much help by writing to the United States Bureau of Education.

A series of lectures illustrated with lantern slides, showing the foreign war activities of the United States, is in course of preparation by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C., and will be available for school use about October 1. The lectures have been prepared by Prof. George F. Zook, of Pennsylvania State College, and include such topics as the cantonments, airplanes, the navy, shipbuilding, trenches and other features of the war. Each lecture is accompanied by from forty-five to sixty-five slides. The slides are being placed on sale at the low price of fifteen cents each.

NATIONAL SCHOOL SERVICE.

The Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C., began on September 1 the publication of a bi-weekly journal designed to bring before teachers and school administrators all the information which government departments wish to present to the schools. *National School Service*, the title of the publication, opens with a message from President Wilson. It contains an illustrated story describing the activities of the American Marines near Chateau-Thierry. An analysis of the war in 1918 is given, together with advice as to how the war should be studied in the schools. Other articles have been prepared by W. S. S. Committee, by the Food Administration, by the Four-Minute Men, and by the Junior Red Cross. Advice and material are given adapted for use in the primary grades, the intermediate grades, the upper grades and high school.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S STATEMENT TO THE SCHOOLS.

President Wilson, under date of July 31, has written the following letter to Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane:

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I am pleased to know that despite the unusual burdens imposed upon our people by the war they have maintained their schools and other agencies of education so nearly at their normal efficiency. That this should be continued throughout the war, and that, in so far as the draft law will permit, there should be no falling off in attendance in elementary schools, high schools or colleges, is a matter of the very greatest importance, affecting both our strength in war and our national welfare and efficiency when the war is over. So long as the war continues there will be constant need of very large numbers of men and women of the highest and most thorough training for war service in many lines. After the war there will be urgent need not only for trained leadership in all lines of industrial, commercial, social and civic life, but for a very high average of intelligence and preparation on the part of all the people. I would, therefore, urge that the people continue to give generous support to their schools of all grades, and that the schools adjust themselves as wisely as possible to the new conditions to the end that no boy or girl should have less opportunity for education because of the war, and that the nation may be strengthened as it can only be through the right education of all its people.

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

EUROPE'S EDUCATIONAL MESSAGE TO AMERICA.

The United States Bureau of Education has issued the following statements from French and English authorities bearing upon the educational situation of the United States:

FRANCE.

"Do not let the needs of the hour, however demanding, or its burdens, however heavy, or its perils, however threatening, or its sorrows, however heartbreaking, make you unmindful of the defense of to-morrow, of those disciplines through which the individual may have freedom, through which an efficient democracy is possible, through which the institutions of civilization can be perpetuated and strengthened. Conserve, endure taxation and privation, suffer and sacrifice, to assure to those whom you have brought into the world that it shall be not only a safe but a happy place for them."—*France's message, reported by John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education of New York State, in his Report on French Schools in War Times.*

ENGLAND.

"At the beginning of the war, when first the shortage of labor became apparent, a raid was made upon the schools, a great raid, a successful raid, a raid started by a large body of unreflecting opinion. The result of that raid upon the schools has been that hundreds of thousands of children in this country have been prematurely withdrawn from school, and have suffered an irreparable damage, a damage which it will be quite impossible for us hereafter adequately to repair. That is a very grave and distressing symptom."—*H. A. L. Fisher, President of the English Board of Education.*

"Any inquiry into education at the present juncture is big with issues of National fate. In the great work of reconstruction which lies ahead there are aims to be set before us which will try, no less searchingly than war itself, the temper and enduring qualities of our race; and in the realization of each and all of these, education with its stimulus and discipline, must be our stand-by. We have to perfect the civilization for which our men have shed their blood and our women their tears; to establish new standards of value in our judgment of what makes life worth living, more wholesome and more restrained ideals of behavior and recreation, finer traditions of co-operation and kindly fellowship between class and class and between man and man. These are tasks for a nation of trained character and robust physique, a nation alert to the things of the spirit, reverential of knowledge, reverential of its teachers, and generous in its estimate of what the production and maintenance of good teachers inevitably cost."—*Report of the English committee on juvenile education in relation to employment after the war.*

CURRENT PERIODICAL ARTICLES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY.

LISTED BY W. L. HALL.

American Review of Reviews. Scholarship department. History teachers' service, June, 1918. (A monthly syllabus of material in the *American Review of Reviews*: History and economics teachers' service, by T. C. Trask; History and civics teachers' service, by A. C. Bryan.)

Boller, Harriet. A socialized history lesson. (Grade V—Time, 30 minutes. Settlement of Virginia.) *Popular Educator*, XXXV (June, 1918), 557, 589.

Buell, Bertha G. History in the primary grades—why and what. *The American Schoolmaster*, xi (June 15, 1918), 241-251

The effect of the war on the teaching of history. I. By J. W. Headlam. II. By Prof. Paul Mantoux. III. By Miss Noakes and S. M. Toyne. *History* (London), n. s. III (April, 1918), 10-24.

Husted, Mabel M. A history help. *Popular Educator*, XXXV (June, 1918), 590.

Seeborn, F. The teaching of history and the use of local illustrations. The historical association (London). Leaflet No. 45 (February, 1918), 16 pp.

Woodhouse, Edward James. Function and method in the teaching of history. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, xvii (April, 1918), 136-154.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

CESTRE, CHARLES. France, England and European Democracy, 1215-1915. Translated by Leslie M. Turner. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. Pp. xx, 354. \$2.50.

This is "a historical survey of the principles underlying the entente cordiale;" its author is a distinguished professor in the University of Bordeaux; and the translator is assistant professor of French in the University of California. Both men have done admirably the work they set out to do. Therefore those who wish to know something of the book can probably receive the truest impression from the following quotations, the first from the author's preface to the French edition and the second from the translator's preface.

"This book is a modest contribution to the understanding of matters concerning England in the past and in the present, these matters being considered only in their bearing on actual events, and only in as far as they forecast and explain these events. An attempt has been made to show through just what sequence of causes—historical, psychological, and moral—Great Britain was led in 1814-1915 to take her stand on the side of right, liberty, and humanity. These causes are not occasional and superficial; they are fundamental and essential. Their effect will survive the crisis which has suddenly given them their full significance and efficacy. It is precisely these causes which allow us to augur well of the future.

"There has been no desire here to write a book bristling with notes and references. Only known facts are used in the text; from these facts an effort has been made to deduce a few leading ideas. An appeal has been made to those readers who, believing in the logical sequence of human actions, attempt to connect current events with their distant sources, and who, starting with the given facts of the history of institutions and customs, make an effort to understand such events. There is no purpose here, nor pretension, other than that of drawing the reader's attention to a classification of facts and to a clear statement of ideas."

"These salient events, covering seven centuries of history, enable the author, and with him the reader, to discern what is most constant in the evolution of the two peoples. This historical 'constant,' recognizable under its varying forms across the centuries, ultimately leads us to a full understanding of the fundamental idea—l'idée maitresse—of the book. It may be stated as follows: England is the mother of liberty; France is the mother of equality; the English idea of liberty reaches France and is partial cause of the French Revolution; France becomes

the evangelist—le flambeau—of liberty; henceforth the more limited and traditional English liberty and the more absolute and ideal French liberty draw slowly together; reciprocally, the French idea of equality reaches England; England progresses toward democracy and devotes much of her energy to social reforms."

EDGAR DAWSON.

Hunter College of the City of New York.

GAUSS, CHRISTIAN (editor). *Democracy To-day, an American Interpretation*. New York: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1917. Pp. 296. 32 cents.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this little book is its misleading title. It is not a treatise on democracy, but a collection of speeches by representative Americans: one each by Lincoln—the Gettysburg address—Lowell, Cleveland, Roosevelt, Lane, and Root, and thirteen by President Wilson. Then in the appendix are to be found, in curious juxtaposition, the address by Premier Lloyd George on the meaning of America's entrance into the war, and the Constitution of the United States. The contribution of the editor is modestly limited to about ten pages of introduction and fifteen pages of biographical and explanatory notes. For the President's war message and the Flag Day address, the notes prepared by the Committee on Public Information are reprinted.

The volume was planned to meet the needs of students, in high school and college, and its aim, according to the editor, is to make plain the meaning of American democracy, in order that we may know "whence we come and whither we are tending." In case any mean-spirited reader should suspect that it is nothing but a glorified political text-book, he may be re-assured by the words of the publishers, who confess that they put it out at an unusually low price as their patriotic contribution to the war. As a matter of fact, the book is a convenient compilation of valuable material, and it will make easier the task of teachers who wish to put into the hands of their students some of the best statements of American idealism.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

Simmons College.

HERRICK, CHEESMAN A. *History of Commerce and Industry*. (Macmillan's Commercial Series.) New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. 562. \$1.60.

The author states that "this book is an outgrowth of eleven years' experience in teaching history to commercial classes at the Philadelphia High School," and that his aim is "to present the essentials of history from the commercial and industrial point of view."

While there is grave doubt whether the essentials of history ought to be presented from any particular point of view, there is no question but that such a history as this has a distinct value.

There are many things to commend in the volume. The information is abundant, the illustrations are excellent. Each chapter closes with a well-chosen list of books for collateral reading, the use of which should be stimulated by the suggestive questions which follow.

On the other hand, the average pupil might be confused by the compilation of facts which are not always clearly related to each other. More attention might well have been given to a discussion of the laws of trade.

The chapters dealing with Germany are of particular value and interest. In view of the reported design of Germany to seize the coal fields of northern France, it is interesting to read that "it has been estimated that the known supplies of coal in Germany would sustain the in-

dustries of the country for thirteen hundred years at the present rate of consumption."

Some errors have been overlooked. Magellan is incorrectly credited with the discovery of Hawaii (p. 195). Jamaica was captured in 1655 by Admiral Penn from the Spaniards and not from the Dutch (p. 260). The possession of Austria and the Netherlands was not brought to the crown of Spain by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, but by the marriage of their daughter Joanna to Philip of Burgundy. The call for The Hague Peace Conference was issued by Nicholas II, not by "Alexander III" (p. 423). Lord Durham was sent to Canada in 1838, not "1837" (p. 355). The treaty with Spain by which we secured the place of deposit was not made in "1794" (p. 329), but in 1795. The Japanese were dispossessed of Manchuria in 1895, not "1905" (p. 431). Lowestoft is written "Lowescroft" (p. 337). New Netherland appears as "New Netherlands" (p. 241), and G. L. Beer as "G. L. Beers" (p. 269).

ARCHIBALD FREEMAN.

Phillips Andover Academy.

HOLT, LUCIUS HUDSON, AND CHILTON, ALEXANDER WHEELER. *The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. xv, 611. \$2.60.

This book is just what it purports to be, an account of the international relations of the great European states during the period mentioned. The internal development of these states is treated only in so far as it throws light on their policy. The smaller states are ignored, except as they are occasionally drawn into the great maelstrom. It is, therefore, a book with a definitely limited field, and a somewhat special purpose. As a text for a college course on the later nineteenth century, it should be supplemented by a considerable amount of collateral reading, to afford a balanced treatment.

Within its limits, it is on the whole an excellent piece of work. The authors' thesis (familiar to readers of *Seignobos*) is evident in the headings of the five divisions of their story. Part I, dealing with the period from 1862 to 1875, is considered as "The Attainment of German Hegemony in Europe," Part II, from 1875 to 1890, as "The Maintenance of German Hegemony in Europe," Part III, from 1890 to 1911, takes up "The Formation of a Defense Against German Hegemony in Europe," Part IV, from 1911 to 1914, deals with the resulting "Conflict of Alliances." To what extent future historians will consider this a sufficiently large basis for the interpretation of the period is uncertain. One is tempted to feel that if our pulses beat less strongly, we should reject it as too obvious a product of the *Zeitgeist* to endure. However, if the general conception seems perhaps one-sided, the authors' treatment is scrupulously fair. Their portrait of Bismarck and the essentially pacific character of his later policy is a conspicuous example. The present war is shown to be the inevitable result of the division of Europe into two great armed camps, with their necessarily divergent political ambitions, though it is admitted of course that the criminal recklessness of Austria's Serbian policy, supported as it was by Germany, fired the magazine. The contrast between the system of the Concert of Powers, characteristic of the early nineteenth century, and the Balance of Power which succeeded it, is admirably drawn (pages 286-289). There is an unusually clear statement of African colonization and the resulting agreements between the Powers in Part III, assembling facts not readily accessible to the ordinary student. The style, throughout, is clear, simple and eminently readable.

The dramatic interest is absorbingly sustained. The unusual number of fairly long extracts from original documents is an excellent feature.

On the other hand, certain defects are obvious. In a history of international relations, one would expect some account of the Hague Tribunal. The part played by the King of Holland in the Luxemburg affair is ignored (page 117). The authors miss a chance to link the Dreyfus case with their main thesis by omitting to show the specific nature of the accusation. There is no recognition of Great Britain's continuing claim to suzerainty over the Transvaal after 1877 (page 339). The Rumanians are not "a Slav element" (page 428). A more serious error is the assertion (page 307) that Von Tirpitz's naval bill of 1900 declared "the German battle fleet should be as strong as the greatest naval Power," omitting from the quotation the immediately preceding words, "It is not absolutely necessary that," given in the complete text of the sentence (page 301). Edward VII was fifty-nine, not sixty-one at his accession (page 308). Joseph Chamberlain resigned in 1903, not in 1902 (page 389). England declared war in 1914 as of August 4, not August 25 (page 570). There are a few technical obscurities in the account of military operations (e. g., "both flanks were refused almost to the Elbe" (page 108); a note here would help the layman. Grateful mention should be made, however, of the excellent and numerous battle charts. There are a number of typographical errors in the reproduction of foreign words (Abeiltung, page 101; Münschengrütz, page 106; galantoumo, page 255). There is a good bibliography, topically classified, but lacking place and date of publication.

EUGENE NEWTON CURTIS.

Goucher College.

MARRIOTT, J. A. R. *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy.* Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1917. Pp. viii, 456. Maps, Appendices, Index.

There has long been need for a work in English to cover this field as does Driault, in his "*La Question d'Orient*." This need has now been met to a satisfactory degree. Written at a time when the importance of the Near East as a principal stake in the present fighting has at last been realized, the volume should receive serious consideration by all teachers of history, particularly those with classes in modern European history. Under the heading of the Eastern Question, the author includes first, and primarily, the development of the Otto-Turks, next the various Balkan peoples and states, then the problem of the Black Sea, the Straits and Constantinople; fourthly, the position of Russia and her ambitions in southeastern Europe, and, fifthly, the position of Austria-Hungary and its relation to the Slavs of the Balkan peninsula. Lastly, he presents the attitude of the European Powers in general and of England in particular. It is by no means an easy task to carry forward all these threads that go to make up the tangled skein of Near Eastern diplomacy simultaneously, and so to handle them as to show their inter-relation at any period of decisive importance without losing something from the continuity of their development. Some repetitions are bound to occur, but they cannot be harshly criticized.

The book is, therefore, almost exclusively devoted to the modern, or what might be called the Turkish, phase of the Eastern Question. It centers about the Ottoman Turks, and especially, as befits a diplomatic study, on the later period when they were the pawns and not the masters. The first chapter is introductory, and largely upon the con-

ditions arising in the sixth century; the second discusses the physiographical aspects of the problems. In the third, the first narrative chapter, the author brings the story to the end of the Greek Empire. Two more, coming down to the peace of Carlowitz, carry the reader through the first quarter of the book, and prepare him for the more intensive consideration of the eighteenth century, and for the study still more detailed and comprehensive of the nineteenth and twentieth, which together fill the last two-thirds of the volume.

Covering such a wide field as he does, the author could hardly escape making errors in details, and sometimes in his conclusions. Some of these are due to carelessness in putting the book together, others to hasty generalizations, but none are of sufficient importance to detract vitally from the usefulness of the survey he has made. Such as they are, they are atoned for in some measure by the moderation shown in dealing with those questions and events that have aroused passionate discussion, and in which British interests have been so deeply concerned.

Besides the political map of the Balkans at the very front of the book, there are nine others, political, historical and ethnological. All are in black and white, and possibly are not as clear as they might have been if colors had been used in dealing with such complicated subjects as the distribution of races, the aspirations of the Balkan states and their acquisitions from 1878 to 1914. Is it fair to indicate (page 387) that the Dobrudja was not included in Bulgaria's aspirations? In place of a general bibliography there are lists of references at the end of each chapter, save the first and the last, the introduction and the epilogue. These are supplemented by the admirable footnotes to be found on nearly every page.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

WOLFSON, ARTHUR MAYER. *Ancient Civilization.* New York: The American Book Co., 1916. Pp. 127. 60 cents.

The aim of this little book is to meet the needs of classes which can devote only a brief amount of time to the study of ancient history before taking up the study of medieval and modern history. The style, illustrations and suggestive topics are well adapted to the first and second year high school student.

The author, by subordinating detail, especially military, political and biographical, has produced as complete a story of the ancient world as is possible in a book of but 127 pages. The space is all too brief, however, for so extended a story, even if it is to serve only as an introduction to medieval and modern history; as, for example, the military and political history of Greece is of too great importance to be confined to a mere two pages.

While there has been an effort to emphasize only those elements of the life of the people of antiquity as are necessary to an understanding of the history of Western Europe in modern times, to some of these elements, even, has too little space been given, as for example, of Greek art, to which are devoted only two paragraphs.

Of course in so limited a space the work must necessarily be sketchy, and no very adequate ideas can be given of such important subjects as commerce, education, literature and biography, etc. If, however, the student can have time for only a rapid survey of ancient history this little book well serves his purpose.

ALBERT FARNSWORTH.

Worcester Classical High School, Worcester, Mass.

STEPHENS, KATE. *The Greek Spirit*. New York: Sturgis & Walton Co., 1917. Pp. 332. \$1.50.

"A brief account of Hellenic thought, Hellenic feeling and Hellenic will" is the description the author gives of her book in the foreword. The object, she continues, is "to make the old Greek spirit speak to the general reader who has never studied Greek," and to spread "the spiritual perspective of that ever wonderful Greek life."

In this compact volume—quite a marvel of condensation—the literature, politics, history, religion, art and life of the Greeks are discussed with a familiarity that shows wide reading and much thought. The best chapters are undoubtedly those interpreting life from Greek authors. Teachers of history will read with interest the sections which discuss the causes of the decadence of the Greek spirit, the characteristics common to the Hellenes and Americans, an attractive comparison, and "the Greek vision of life."

VICTORIA A. ADAMS.

Calumet High School, Chicago.

HARING, CLARENCE H. *Trade and Navigation Between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918. Pp. xxviii, 371. Appendices and Index. \$2.25.

Professor Haring has written a work that is both timely and important. It is timely because it deals with a subject that in its wider aspects is attracting a constantly increasing number of scholars—the subject of the colonial policy of the maritime states of Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; and important because it is the only adequate account that exists of Spanish policy before and during the British settlement of the New World. To understand British colonization one must know something of the efforts of Spain, France, and Holland to develop colonial trade and commerce, and of the rivalry that arose because of these efforts. Much has been written on the voyages of discovery, but almost nothing on the less romantic but equally important side of the organization of trade and navigation. Dutch, French, and Spanish scholars have produced articles and monographs that are learned and contributory as far as they go, but it is eminently desirable that independent treatises be written by such of our own scholars as are aware of the problems which our history presents and are competent to handle the necessary material. Professor Haring's work, which is detailed, scholarly, and interesting, presents an admirable account of Spanish commercial policy and methods from the time of Columbus to the end of the seventeenth century.

The work takes up in turn the early rivalry of ports which led to the centering of a trading monopoly at Seville, and its retention there for two centuries, despite rival claims and the injury which such a monopoly caused; the establishment of the Casa de Contratación, the first administrative body established in Spain to take care of the new discoveries in America, and its organization, career, and influence; the Spanish system of registration and customs, with the inevitable smuggling and traffic in contraband; the policy regarding emigration, interlopers, *asientos*, and manufacturing, in which is developed the Spanish version of mercantilism and its relation to the colonizing efforts of other maritime powers; the nature of the Spanish monopoly, which strangled private initiative and fostered a paternalistic system of control, aristocratic and ecclesiastical in character, checking colonial freedom of action, destroying all local incentive to efficiency and progress, and leading to the establishment in Spanish America of some

of the worst aspects of caste distinction and racial and religious conflict, such as prevailed in the mother country.

Later chapters deal with the precious metals and their drift from Spain owing to the prevailing unfavorable balance of trade there; the difficult problem of their transportation, first across the Isthmus of Panama, which gives the author an opportunity to discuss the early history of the canal projects, and then across the ocean in galleons and flotas, terms derived from the type of war vessels that accompanied the convoys from Tierra Firme and Mexico; the dangers from corsairs, buccanneers, and privateers, a subject teeming with action and excitement; and finally, ships and navigators, dealt with in two chapters, one of which concerns size and description, food, equipment, guns, licenses, freight, contracts, marine insurance, bottomry, and shipwrecks, the other with navigation, nautical schools, charts, treatises on navigation, pilots, wages, and the complements of crews.

The most suggestive part of Professor Haring's volume, and that which will specially appeal to the student of colonial policy in general, is his exposition of the decline of Spain's colonial and commercial strength. This decline Professor Haring attributes in the first place to the lucrative and selfish monopoly of the Sevillian merchants and the interfering policy of the crown, which confined commercial enterprise in so many bonds as to hamper in every direction freedom of action. Spain's economic policy, he says, was "fatally inconsistent with her powers and resources," and the effort of Castile "to absorb all the metallic riches of the western hemisphere" was "a stupendous blunder." No maritime state in the world can show such a body of regulating royal decrees and orders, which were so complete, to quote a phrase here applied to a part of the subject, that "so far as was humanly possible, the harassed mariner was allowed no loophole of escape."

But apart from its paternalistic policy, the Spanish crown itself proved hopelessly inefficient in the execution of its policy. Arsenal and stores were neglected, and the essential needs of a mercantile marine were met with indifference and apathy. So lax was the royal control that officers, merchants and colonists disobeyed the rules laid down, engaged in fraud, illicit trade, and other irregular practices, allowed avarice to blind them to all need of proper precaution for safety, received bribes, bought and sold offices and government functions, and, brutalized by the search for wealth and the existence of slave labor, neglected their duties and lived idle lives in a world where enthusiasm and energy were the essential conditions of success.

Professor Haring would have made his volume of wider usefulness if he had translated into English his often lengthy Spanish quotations and had explained some of the more difficult Spanish terms, but even so his work is of great usefulness and value, and should be read by everyone interested in our colonial history.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

BOOKS ON HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES FROM APRIL 27 TO JULY 27, 1918.

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AMERICAN HISTORY.

Adams, James T. *History of the town of Southampton [Long Island]*. Bridgehampton, L. I.: Hampton Press. 424 pp. (8 pp. bibls.). \$2.50.

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- Phillips, Philip L. The first map and description of Ohio, 1787, by Manasseh Cutler. Wash., D. C.: W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., 1418 F St. 41 pp. \$4.00, net.
- Phillips, Ulrich B. American negro slavery. N. Y.: Appleton. 529 pp. \$3.00, net.
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- Wilson, Woodrow. President Wilson's foreign policy; messages, addresses, papers, edited by J. B. Scott. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. 424 pp. \$3.50, net.
- Wood, E. O. Historic Mackinac. 2 vols. N. Y.: Macmillan. 697, 773 pp. (49 pp. bibls.). \$12.50, net.
- Wood, J. W. Pasadena, California, historical and personal. San Francisco [the author; J. J. Newbegin, agent]. 565 pp. \$3.50, net.
- Wright, Otis O. History of Swansea, Massachusetts, 1667-1917. Swansea [the Town]. 248 pp. \$2.00.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

- Dennison, Walter. Gold treasure of the late Roman period. N. Y.: Macmillan. 89-175 pp. \$2.50, net.
- Evans, Arthur J. New archaeological lights on the origins of civilization in Europe. Wash., D. C.: Gov. Pr. Off. 425-445 pp.
- New York [City] Public Library. Assyria and Babylonia: a list of references in the library. N. Y.: The library. 143 pp. 45 cents, net.

ENGLISH HISTORY.

- Allen, Cephas D. History of the tariff relations of the Australian colonies. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minn. 177 pp. 75 cents, net.
- Archer, William. India and the future. N. Y.: A. H. Knopf. 326 pp. \$3.00, net.
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EUROPEAN HISTORY.

- Abbott, Wilbur C. The expansion of Europe [1415-1789]. 2 vols. N. Y.: Holt. 512, 463 pp. (35 pp. bibls.). \$6.50, net.
- Altschul, Charles. German militarism and its German critics (U. S. Com. on Pub. Inf., War Inf. Series No. 13). Wash., D. C.: Gov. Pr. Off. 45 pp.
- Ashley, Roscoe L. Modern European civilization. N. Y.: Macmillan. 326 pp. (bibls.). \$1.20, net.
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ARRANGED BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR LYON CROSS, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

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When the American Revolution forced the great issue of the relation between imperial unity and colonial self-government, Burke, with his characteristic prescience, declared that the problem facing the British Government was "to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution."¹ Lord Durham's famous "Report on the Affairs of British North America,"² issued two years after the Canadian Rebellion of 1837, marked an epoch in the development of two phases of this policy. Gradually, in accordance with its recommendations, such of the British overseas dominions as were prepared for the privilege were granted constitutions conferring upon them large powers of self-government. Moreover, several groups of colonies united into great federations, notably the Dominion of Canada, 1867; the Commonwealth of Australia, 1900; the Dominion of New Zealand, 1907; and the Union of South Africa, 1909.

Meantime, until well past the middle of the last century, not a few leading British statesmen under the spell of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*—especially in its chief economic manifestation of free trade—had ceased to regard the colonies as an asset and contemplated without disquiet the prospect of their possible separation from Great Britain. Even Disraeli, on one occasion in a burst of impatience, referred to them as "mill-stones about our necks." Nevertheless, within a few years (in 1859), he uttered a remarkable prophecy (see No. I), and before the close of the seventies, he had gone far to popularize an awakening enthusiasm for imperial unity due to a conjunction of causes—improved means of transportation and communication; emigration of surplus population; and the need for foodstuffs, raw materials and wider markets. Then a new problem had to be faced: how to bring the self-governing colonies into closer touch with the mother country and to give them a voice in the control of the affairs of the empire which their lusty growth in strength and value demanded.

The first momentous step in this direction was taken at the Queen's Jubilee in 1887, when the first Colonial Conference, consisting of the Premiers and selected representatives from the British Government and the self-governing colonies, together with a few delegates from the crown colonies, was held. This was followed, at intervals of a few years, by a series of such conferences³ (called since 1907 Imperial Conferences) for the discussion of matters of common

concern, conferences supplemented by a committee of Imperial Defense for dealing with military and naval problems. While the functions of these conferences have been only advisory, many of their recommendations have been put into effect. Before long, the late Joseph Chamberlain launched a movement for still closer unity of organization cemented by a policy of preferential tariffs, while another powerful impetus in this direction came from the Boer War, when Canadians, Australians and New Zealanders flocked to defend the Empire against disruption. For a time there was a prospect even that an imperial federal executive and legislature might be set up; but, for the last decade, there has been a growing reaction against a close fusion of sovereignty. However, the Great War has opened the possibility of an adjustment less extreme but fraught with promise.

On 25 December, 1916, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, invited the dominion premiers and a few other delegates to a special Imperial War Conference, which was formally opened, 21 March, 1917. Meantime, 2 March, the overseas representatives had begun to meet with the British War Cabinet,⁴ and continued to sit with that body at intervals during the period of the conference. The difference between the Imperial War Cabinet and the War Conference is mainly that the former dealt with questions of immediate war strategy—superseding in this field the former committee of Imperial Defense—that its proceedings were secret and its acts binding, whereas the latter—consisting of the British Prime Minister, the Colonial Secretary, together with other British officials specially interested sitting with the Premiers and other delegates from overseas—considered all sorts of business relating to the Empire, besides which, its functions were advisory rather than executive, and its proceedings have been published.⁵ On 16 April the conference passed a

³ See *War Cyclopaedia*, "British Imperial Federation." The most detailed account of the conferences will be found in Richard Jebb, "The British Imperial Conference," 2 vols, 1911.

⁴ See *War Cyclopaedia*, "War Cabinet British," and John A. Fairlie, "British War Cabinets," *Michigan Law Review*, May, 1918, pp. 471-495.

⁵ For a brief summary of the work of the conference, see *War Cyclopaedia*, "British Imperial War Conference." There is a fuller report in the *London Times*, 4 May, 1918, pp. 7, 8, and interesting discussions in the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1918, pp. 1-25; the *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1917, pp. 234-249; and *Ibid*, September, 1917, pp. 489-503; the *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1917, pp. 196-208. The full official report may be found in a government document, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1917, C. D. 8566 (Imperial War Conference). For the first meeting of the second War Cabinet, 11 June, 1918, see *London Times*, weekly edition, 14 June, 1918, p. 452.

¹ Cited in *Quarterly Review*, January, 1918, p. 3, from his speech on "Conciliation with America" (1775). *Works*, ed. 1852, III, p. 266.

² The best edition is that of Sir C. P. Lucas, 3 vols. Oxford, 1912.

notable resolution, moved by the Canadian Premier, Sir Robert Borden. This will be found in No. III, preceded in No. II by an important extract from a speech by Sir Robert Borden. The remaining selections are from utterances of Great Britain's most outstanding statesman, the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George,⁶ and General Jan Smuts,⁷ with the exception of General Botha, the greatest of the South African political and military leaders, who is at present also a member of the British War Cabinet. No. IV is from a speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at the London Guildhall, 27 April, 1918, in which he touched on the work of the war conference and forecast some features of future imperial policy. No. V is from a statement to the House of Commons, 18 May, in which he announced that the conference had at its last session decided in favor of his proposal "that meetings of an Imperial Cabinet should be held annually or at any intermediate time when matters of urgent imperial concern require to be settled," a step which he characterized as "a landmark in our constitutional history." In addition to Nos. VI to X, which express General Smuts' views and vision as to the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations, a considerable portion of his speech on the German aims in Africa is given, in No. XI, to show the contrast between the British and German methods of colonization and ideals of empire.

I.

FROM SPEECH OF DISRAELI ON THE HUSTINGS AT
AYLESBURY IN 1859.

"Remember always that England, though she is bound to Europe by tradition, by affection, by great similarity of habits, and all those ties which time alone can create and consecrate, is not a mere Power of the Old World. Her geographical position, her laws, her language and religion connect her as much with the New World as with the Old. And, although she has occupied not only an eminent, but I am bold to say, the most eminent position, among European nations for ages, still, if ever Europe by her shortsightedness falls into an inferior and exhausted state, for England there will remain an illustrious future. We are bound to the commonwealths of the New World, and those great states which our planting and colonizing energies have created, by ties and interests which will sustain our power and enable us to play as great a part in the times to come as we do these days, and as we have done in the past. And therefore now that Europe is on the eve of war, I say, it is for Europe, not for England, that my heart sinks."⁸

⁶ The best appreciation of his work and policy will be found in "Lloyd-George and the War," by an Independent Liberal, London and New York, 1917.

⁷ There is an excellent estimate of General Smuts by Wallace Notestein in the *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1918, pp. 107-113.

⁸ Manypenny and Buckle, "The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield," IV, 231.

II.

REMARKS BY SIR ROBERT BORDEN AT A SESSION OF
THE BRITISH IMPERIAL WAR COUNCIL,
3 APRIL, 1917.⁹

"For many years the thought of statesmen and students in every part of the Empire has centered round the question of future constitutional relations; it may be now, as in the past, the necessity imposed by great events has given the answer. It is not for me to prophesy, . . . but those who have given thought and energy to every effort for full constitutional development of the oversea nations may be pardoned for believing that they discern therein the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth."

III.

RESOLUTION MOVED BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF
CANADA, AND ADOPTED BY THE IMPERIAL WAR
CONFERENCE, 16 APRIL, 1918.¹⁰

"The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the war, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities.

"They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India¹¹ as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine."

IV.

FROM A SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER, MR. LLOYD
GEORGE, AT THE LONDON GUILDHALL,
27 APRIL, 1918.¹²

"Let us think out the best methods for ourselves in the face of searching facts we knew not of before the war. We are a thousand years older and wiser. The experience of generations has been crowded into just a few winters, and we should indeed be unworthy of

⁹ *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1917, p. 196.

¹⁰ "War Time Speeches," by General Smuts. New York 1917, p. 10; also in *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1917, p. 199.

¹¹ Proposals for a limited amount of home rule for India have been recently made in a report issued by the Secretary of State and Viceroy for India. See *London Times*, weekly edition, 12 July, pp. 534, 535, 538.

¹² *London Times*, 28 April, 1918, p. 8.

the great destiny to which Providence has called this generation of men if we threw all that away for the sake of any formulas that were framed before the Flood. There is no part of the whole sphere of statesmanship where there is a greater need for us to revise our ideas than in our attitude towards that great commonwealth of nations which is known as the British Empire. In the past we treated it as an abstraction—a glorious abstraction, but an abstraction. The war has shown us, all of us, that the British Empire is a fact, nay, a factor, the most potent factor to-day in the struggle for human liberty. We sent a hundred thousand men to France in August, 1914. They turned the tide of history. The Dominions and the great Empire of India have contributed one million men. That has transformed our ideas as to the reality and the beneficence of the British Empire. The world cannot afford to let it dissolve. But the choice must be between immediate concentration and ultimate dissolution. We can never let things remain where they were. It may be said that the shadowy character of the relations between us and the Dominions and the great territories of the East have produced this real cohesion. That was all very well before they made great sacrifices. They have established claims now to a real partnership. Henceforth effective consultation must be the only basis of co-operation. If our action brings them into trouble, as it has, costing them myriads of precious lives, they must henceforth be consulted beforehand. Methods must be carefully considered. The whirl of a great war is not the best time for thinking out perhaps new Constitutions, but our Councils of Empire must at any rate be a reality. The Imperial War Cabinet, the first ever held, has been a demonstration of the value of these councils.

"Our colleagues from the Dominions and from the great Empire of India have not taken part, believe me, in a formal conference to carry resolutions. They have had a real share in our councils, and in our decisions, and they have been a great source of strength and wisdom to our deliberations. They have come there with fresh minds. They have viewed this world-conflict from, as it were, different peaks. Minds running the same course for a long time are apt to get rutty, and the weightier the minds the deeper the ruts. You require fresh minds to lift the cart out of those worn furrows, and we have had them. We have had war decisions of the most far-reaching character, in which our colleagues from beyond the seas have assisted us. These great problems in regard to submarines, shipping, and food, as well as our military decisions, have all come for review at councils in which they have taken part.

"But we must do more. I feel that this experiment must be incorporated in the fabric of the Empire. We have been taught by the war the real value of the Empire as a world-force, and one of the first duties of statesmanship in the future will be to take all measures which are necessary to aid in the development of the stupendous resources of the Empire.

That ought to be our special care, our special pride, as it undoubtedly would be our special security. We want to develop the lands under the Flag. If fifty years ago we had directed our minds and our power and our influence to that end, you would now have had double the population you have got in these Dominions, by diverting the tide of emigration to British Dominions instead of other lands, and you would have attracted the virile populations of Europe in addition to that.

"In the future we have decided that it is the business of statesmanship in Great Britain, as well as in the lands beyond the seas, to knit the Empire in closer bonds together of interest, of trade, of commerce, of business, and of general intercourse in affairs.

"We have given grave consideration to this problem, and have decided that in order to develop these enormous territories in future it is necessary that exceptional encouragement should be given to the products of each part of the Empire. We believe that a system of preference can be established, which will not involve the imposition of burdens upon food. We believe that it can be done without that, and, of course, with food at its scarcest and at its dearest, this is not the time to talk about putting additional burdens on food. But for purposes of preference that would not be essential. You can secure that by other means, and more particularly by taking measures which other lands have taken for improving the communications between one part of their dominions and another. By these means the products of one country inside this great Imperial Commonwealth can be brought more freely, readily, and economically to the markets of the others.

"This great Empire has infinite resources in wealth, in minerals, in food products, in timber, and in every commodity needful for man, and it is obviously to the advantage, not merely of the particular countries where these products come from, but of every other part of the Empire, including the United Kingdom, that these commodities should be developed to the utmost. It enriches, it strengthens, and it binds together the Empire as a whole."

V.

STATEMENT BY THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER IN PARLIAMENT, 17 MAY, 1918.¹³

Mr. Lloyd George (Carnarvon District), answering an inquiry by Mr. McKenna (Monmouth, N.) whether he had a statement to make to the House relating to the Imperial War Cabinet, said: "I think that I ought to report to the House a very important decision that was arrived at as a sequel to the recent meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet. It is desirable that Parliament should be officially and formally acquainted with an event that will constitute a memorable landmark in the constitutional history of the British Empire. The House will remember that

¹³ *London Times*, 18 May, 1918, p. 10.

in December last his Majesty's Government invited the Prime Ministers or leading statesmen of the Overseas Dominions and of India to attend the sittings both of the Cabinet and of an Imperial War Conference to be held in this country. It is to the former body, which assembled in March and held fourteen sittings before separating, that I desire to refer.

"The British Cabinet became for the time being an Imperial War Cabinet. While it was in session its overseas members had access to all the information which was at the disposal of his Majesty's Government, and occupied a status of absolute equality with that of the members of the British War Cabinet. It had prolonged discussions on all the most vital aspects of Imperial policy, and came to important decisions in regard to them—decisions which will enable us to prosecute the war with increased unity and vigor, and will be of the greatest value when it comes to the negotiation of peace.

"I should like to add on behalf of the Government that the fresh minds and new points of view which our colleagues from over the seas have brought to bear upon the problems with which we have been so long engrossed have been an immense help to us all. So far as we are concerned, we can say with confidence that the experiment has been a complete success.

"The conclusions of the Imperial War Cabinet are of necessity secret, but there is one aspect of them which we feel ought to be communicated to the House without delay. The Imperial War Cabinet was unanimous that the new procedure had been of such service not only to all its members, but to the Empire that it ought not to be allowed to fall into desuetude. Accordingly at the last session I proposed formally, on behalf of the British Government, that meetings of an Imperial Cabinet should be held annually, or at any intermediate time when matters of urgent Imperial concern require to be settled, and that the Imperial Cabinet should consist of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and such of his colleagues as deal specially with Imperial affairs, of the Prime Minister of each of the Dominions, or some specially accredited alternate possessed of equal authority, and of a representative of the Indian people to be appointed by the Government of India. This proposal met with the cordial approval of the overseas representatives, and we hope that the holding of an annual Imperial Cabinet to discuss foreign affairs and other aspects of Imperial policy will become an accepted convention of the British Constitution.

"I ought to add that the institution in its present form is extremely elastic. It grew, not by design, but out of the necessities of the war. The essence of it is that the responsible heads of the Governments of the Empire, with those Ministers who are specially entrusted with the conduct of Imperial policy, should meet together at regular intervals to confer about foreign policy and matters connected therewith, and come to decisions in regard to them which, subject to the control of their own Parlia-

ments, they will then severally execute. By this means they will be able to obtain full information about all aspects of Imperial affairs, and to determine by consultation together the policy of the Empire in its most vital aspects, without infringing in any degree the autonomy which its parts at present enjoy. To what constitutional developments this may lead we did not attempt to settle. The whole question of perfecting the mechanism for 'continuous consultation' about Imperial and foreign affairs between the 'autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth' will be reserved for the consideration of that special conference which will be summoned as soon as possible after the war to readjust the constitutional relations of the Empire. We felt, however, that the experiment of constituting an Imperial Cabinet, in which India was represented, had been so fruitful in better understanding and in unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated, and we believe that this proposal will commend itself to the judgment of all the nations of the Empire."

VI.

FROM A SPEECH BY GENERAL SMUTS, AT THE SESSION OF THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE, 16 APRIL, 1918, ON THE RESOLUTION PRINTED IN NO.

III.¹⁴

"I need hardly point out that this is far and away the most important point on the agenda of our conference this time. The British Empire is the most important and fascinating problem in political and constitutional government which the world has ever seen. Whenever we come to this question of a proper constitution for this Empire we touch on the very gravest and most important issues. As a matter of fact we are the only group of nations that has ever successfully existed. People talk about a league of nations and international government, but the only successful experiment in international government that has ever been made is the British Empire, founded on principles which appeal to the highest political ideals of mankind. Founded on liberal principles, and principles of freedom and equality, it has continued to exist for a good time now, and our hope is that the basis may be so laid for the future that it may become an instrument for good, not only in the Empire, but in the whole world. . . .

"The resolution refers, in the first place, to the question of the status of the self-governing Dominions. That matter has already been referred to both by Sir Robert Borden and by Mr. Massey, and I wish to say a few words in reference to the point. The resolution says that any future settlement that is come to must 'be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth.' The whole question of the future status of the Dominions is therefore raised in this resolution. So far the British Empire has developed along natural lines. The Dominions started as colo-

¹⁴ "War-Time Speeches," pp. 11-16 *passim*.

nies and as settlements of the mother country and of the British Isles. They started as crown colonies; they developed into self-governing colonies, and now they have become the present Dominions. Other parts of the world have been added to the Empire, until to-day we have really a congeries of nations. These old colonies and the present Dominions have in course of time increased in importance, increased in population and in economic influence, and are to-day already playing a part in the world which seems to my mind to make it very necessary that their status should be very seriously considered, and should be improved. Too much, if I may say so, of the old ideas still clings to the new organism which is growing. I think that although in practice there is great freedom, yet in theory the status of the Dominions is of a subject character. Whatever we may say, and whatever we may think, we are subject provinces of Great Britain. That is the legal theory of the constitution, and in many ways which I need not specify to-day that theory still permeates practice. I think that is one of the most important questions that will have to be dealt with when this question of our future constitutional relations on a better and more permanent basis comes to be considered. The status of the Dominions as equal nations of the Empire will have to be recognized to a very large extent. The governments of the Dominions as equal governments of the King in the British Commonwealth will have to be recognized far more fully than that is done to-day, at any rate in the theory of the constitution, if not in practice. That is the most important principle laid down in the second part of this resolution, that there should be 'a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations.' And to strengthen the point the resolution goes on to affirm that the existing powers of self-government should not be interfered with. Of course, there is a good deal of feeling of natural and justifiable jealousy in the Dominions as to the rights which they have acquired and which they do not like to be tampered with, and I think it is very wise to add this to the resolution, that their existing powers of self-government should not be tampered with. If that is so it follows that one theory, one proposed solution of our future constitutional relations, is negated by this resolution. If this resolution is passed, then one possible solution is negated, and that is the Federal solution. The idea of a future Imperial Parliament and a future Imperial Executive is negated by implication by the terms of this resolution. The idea on which this resolution is based is rather that the Empire would develop on the lines upon which it has developed hitherto; that there would be more freedom and more equality in all its constituent parts; that they will continue to legislate for themselves and continue to govern themselves; that whatever executive action has to be taken, even in common concerns, would have to be determined, as the last paragraph says, by 'the several Governments' of the Empire, and the idea of a Federal solution is therefore negated, and, I think, very wisely,

because it seems to me that the circumstances of the Empire entirely preclude the Federal solution. Here we are, as I say, a group of nations spread over the whole world, speaking different languages, belonging to different races, with entirely different economic circumstances, and to attempt to run even the common concerns of that group of nations by means of a Central Parliament and a Central Executive is, to my mind, absolutely to court disaster. . . . The young nations are developing on their own lines; the young nations are growing into Great Powers, and it will be impossible to attempt to govern them in future by one common Legislature and one common Executive.

"Then if we are to continue as nations and to grow as nations and govern ourselves as nations, the great question arises, How are we to keep this Empire together? That is the other important point, I take it, in this resolution—the point which recognizes that there should be effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all common concerns, especially in concerns which are mentioned there specifically; that is, foreign policy, that in all common concerns there should be effective arrangements for continuous consultation. Setting aside the Federal solution as not applicable to this Empire, which is not merely a State, but a system of States—setting aside that solution, the question arises how you are to keep the different parts together, and it can only be done on the basis of freedom and equality which has existed hitherto, only the machinery would have to be arranged on which that system could be worked. I think it will not pass the wit of man to devise ways of continuous consultation—not intermittent, not every four years, as we have had hitherto, but continuous consultation. Sir Robert Borden has pointed out . . . that the practice which has now arisen spontaneously of a double Cabinet may in the future provide the germs of a solution. I express no opinion upon that, because very intricate constitutional questions are bound up with that, and it is quite possible to arrange this system of continuous consultation and conferences even on a different basis, and yet make it perfectly workable and feasible as a means of keeping the different parts of the Empire together. It seems to me that some such machinery will have to be devised, and that it will not be difficult to devise it once we come to sit round the table and discuss the matter carefully. In that way it will be possible, while leaving full executive action to the various more or less equal Governments of the Empire, while leaving full executive responsibility to them, to see that in all important concerns there is consultation and continuous consultation; that there is an exchange of ideas, and that the system, whilst preserving freedom and equality in its parts, will work with a strong sense of unity at the centre.

"I think, if this resolution is passed, we shall have taken an immense step forward in the history of the Empire. If we pass no other resolution at this conference than this one, I am sure that we shall have done a good day's work for this Empire. We are

emerging out of one era and we are entering upon another where much greater problems will confront us than ever before. So far it has been possible for us each to go his own way, meeting once in so many years. In future it will be necessary for us to keep much more close in touch with each other."

VII.

FROM GENERAL SMUTS' FOREWORD TO HIS WAR-TIME SPEECHES, 31 MAY, 1917.¹⁵

"The interesting point is that in the British Empire, which I prefer to call (from its principal constituent State) the British Commonwealth of Nations, this transition from the old legalistic idea of political sovereignty, based on force, to the new social idea of constitutional freedom, based on consent, has been gradually evolving for more than a century. And the elements of the future world Government, which will no longer rest on the imperial ideas adopted from the Roman law, are already in operation in our Commonwealth of Nations, and will rapidly develop in the near future. As the Roman ideas guided European civilization for almost two thousand years, so the newer ideas embedded in the British constitutional and colonial system may, when carried to their full development, guide the future civilization for ages to come. But some development in the structure of our Commonwealth and the greater equalizing of its constituent parts will be necessary before the British precedent could be fruitfully applied to the Society of Nations at large.

"That is roughly how the constitutional ideas underlying our Commonwealth seem to me to connect, on the one hand, with the ideals for which we are fighting in this war, and on the other with the larger world order which will in future replace the chaos of our present international system."

VIII.

FROM A SPEECH BY GENERAL SMUTS ON "THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS,"
15 MAY, 1917.¹⁶

"I am sure that in the present great struggle which is being waged in the world you will see the same causes leading to a like result. Here you have from all parts of the British Empire young men gathered together on the battlefields of Europe and the other fields of war. While your statesmen may be planning great schemes of union for the future of the Empire, my feeling is that the work is already largely done. The spirit of comradeship which has been born in this war and on the battlefields of Europe among men from all parts of the Empire will be far more powerful than any instrument of government we can erect in the future. I feel sure that in after years, when we or our successors come to sum up what has happened, there will be a good credit balance due to this feeling which has been built up,

and which will be the best support for the Empire in the future.

"... It is inevitable where you have so many difficulties to face that one should forget to keep before oneself the situation as a whole; and yet this is very necessary. It is most essential that even in this struggle, even when Europe is looming so much before our eyes, we should keep before us and see steadily the problem of the whole situation. I would ask you not to forget in these times the British Commonwealth of Nations. Europe will not continue to loom as much in view as it does at present.

"... This is one of the reasons why I am glad that an Imperial Conference has been called at this time. It is apparently a very inopportune moment, but the calling together of the conference has helped to turn attention once more to that aspect of the whole situation which is so important to us. It is not only Europe we have to consider, but the future of the great Commonwealth to which we all belong. This Commonwealth is peculiarly constituted. It is scattered over the whole world. It is not a compact territory, and it is dependent for its very existence on world-wide communications—communications which must be maintained or this Empire goes to pieces.

"... One of the by-products of the war has been that the whole world outside of Europe has been cleared of the enemy. Germany has been swept from all the seas and all the continents except Central Europe. While Germany has been gaining ground in Central Europe, from all the rest of the world she has been swept clear. You are now in this position: that once more you can consider the problem of your future as a whole. When peace comes to be made you have all these cards in your hand, and you can go carefully into the question of what is necessary for your future security and the future safety of the Empire, and can say what you are going to keep and what you are going to give away. I hope that when the time comes—I am speaking for myself and expressing nobody's opinion but my own—when the time comes for peace to be made we shall bear in mind not only Central Europe, but the whole British Empire. As far as we are concerned, we do not wish this war to have been fought in vain. We have not fought for material gain or for territory, but we have fought for security in the future. If we attach any value to this group of nations which composes the British Empire, then in settling the terms of peace we shall have to look to its security and safety. I hope that no arrangements will be made which will jeopardize the valuable results which have been attained. That is the geographical situation.

"There remains the difficult question of the constitutional adjustment and relations of the British Empire. . . . I think that we are inclined to make mistakes in thinking about this group of nations to which we belong, because too often we think about it as one State. We are not a State. The British Empire is more than a State. I think the very expression 'Empire' is misleading, because it makes people

¹⁵ Page vii.

¹⁶ "War-Time Speeches," pp. 22-32 *passim*.

think that we are one community, to which the word 'Empire' can appropriately be applied. Germany is an Empire. Rome was an Empire. India is an Empire. But we are a system of nations. We are not a State, but a community of States and nations. We are far greater than any Empire which has ever existed, and by using this ancient expression we really disguise the main fact that our whole position is different, and that we are not one State or nation or empire, but a whole world by ourselves, consisting of many nations, of many States, and all sorts of communities, under one flag.

"We are a system of States, and not a stationary system, but a dynamic evolving system, always going forward to new destinies. Take the position of that system to-day. Here you have the United Kingdom with a number of Crown Colonies. Besides that you have a large protectorate like Egypt, an empire by itself. Then you have a great dependency like India, also an empire by itself, where civilization has existed from time immemorial, where we are trying to see how East and West can work together. These are enormous problems; but beyond them we come to the so-called Dominions, independent in their government, which have been evolved on the principles of your free constitutional system into almost independent States, which all belong to this community of nations, and which I prefer to call 'the British Commonwealth of Nations.' . . .

"The question is: How are you going to provide for the future government of this Commonwealth? An entirely new problem is presented. If you want to see how great it is, you must judge in comparison. Look at the United States. There you find what is essentially one nation, not perhaps in the fullest sense, but what is more and more growing into one nation; one big State consisting, no doubt, of separate parts, but all linked up into one big continuous area. The United States had to solve the problem which this presented, and they discovered the federal solution—a solution which provides subordinate treatment for the subordinate parts, but one national Federal Government and Parliament for the whole. Compare with that state the enormous system which is comprised in the British Empire. You can see at once that a solution which has been found practicable in the case of the United States will never work in the case of a system such as we are, comprising a world by itself.

"What I feel in regard to all the empires of the past, and even in regard to the United States, is that the effort has always been towards forming one nation. All the empires we have known in the past and that exist to-day are founded on the idea of assimilation, of trying to force human material into one mould. Your whole idea and basis is entirely different. You do not want to standardize the nations of the British Empire, you want to develop them towards greater, fuller nationality. These communities, the offspring of the mother country, or territories like my own, which have been annexed after the

vicissitudes of war, must not be moulded on any one pattern. You want them to develop freely on the principles of self-government, and therefore your whole idea is different from anything that has ever existed before. That is the fundamental fact we have to bear in mind—that this British Commonwealth of nations does not stand for standardization or denationalization, but for the fuller, richer, and more various life of all the nations comprised in it. . . .

"The question arises: How are you going to keep this Commonwealth of Nations together? If there is to be this full development towards a more varied and richer life among our nations, how are you going to keep them together? It seems to me that there are two potent factors that you must rely upon for the future. The first is your hereditary kingship, the other is our conference system. I have seen some speculations recently in the newspapers about the position of the kingship in this country—speculations by people who, I am sure, have not thought of the wider issues that are at stake. You cannot make a republic out of the British Commonwealth of nations.

"If you had to elect a President, he would have to be a President not only here in these islands, but all over the British Empire—in India and in the Dominions—the President who would be really representative of all these peoples; and here you would be facing an absolutely insoluble problem. The theory of the Constitution is that the King is not your King, but the King of all of us, ruling over every part of the whole Commonwealth of nations; and if his place should be taken by anybody else, that somebody will have to be elected under a process which it will pass the wit of man to devise. Let us be thankful for mercies. We have a kingship here which is really not very different from a hereditary republic. . . .

"In regard to the present system of Imperial Conferences, it will be necessary to devise better machinery for common consultation than we have at present. So far, we have relied on Imperial Conferences which meet once in every four years or thereabouts. However useful has been the work done at these conferences, they have not, in my opinion, been completely successful. It will be necessary to devise better means of achieving our ends. A precedent has now been laid down of calling together the Dominion Prime Ministers and representatives from the Empire of India to the Imperial Cabinet. You have seen a statement made by Lord Curzon that it is the intention of the Government to perpetuate this system in the future. Although we shall have to wait for a complete explanation of the scheme from the Government, yet it is clear that in an institution like that we have a better instrument of common consultation than we have in the old Imperial Conference which meets only every four years, and which discusses a number of subjects not really of first-rate importance.

"What is necessary is that there shall be called together the most important rulers of the Empire, say once a year, to discuss matters which concern all parts

of the Empire in common, in order that causes of friction and misunderstanding may be prevented or removed. We also need a meeting like that in order to lay down a common policy in common matters concerning the Empire as a whole and to determine the true orientation of our common Imperial policy. There is, for instance, foreign policy on which the fate of the Empire might from time to time depend. Some such method of procedure must lead to very important results and very great changes. You cannot settle a common foreign policy for the whole of the British Empire without changing that policy very much from what it has been in the past, because the policy will have to be, for one thing, far simpler. In the other parts of the Empire we do not understand diplomatic finesse. If our foreign policy is going to rest not only on the basis of our Cabinet here, but, finally, on the whole of the British Empire, it will have to be a simpler policy, a far more intelligible policy, and a policy which will in the end lead to less friction and greater safety. No one will dispute the primacy of the Imperial Government in this respect. We shall always look upon the British Government as the senior partner in the concern, as the managing director responsible for our foreign affairs and responsible for carrying on those affairs in the intervals between the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet. But the imperial foreign policy must always be subject to the principles laid down from time to time at the meetings of the Imperial Cabinet. Such a policy will in the long run be saner and safer for the Empire as a whole. I also think it will lead to greater publicity.

" . . . Far too much stress has been laid in the past on instruments of government. People are inclined to forget that the world is growing more democratic, and that public opinion and the forces finding expression in public opinion are going to be far more powerful than they have been in the past. Where you build up a common patriotism and a common ideal, the instrument of government will not be a thing that matters so much as the spirit which actuates the whole.

" . . . I believe, I verily believe, that we are within reach of priceless and immeasurable good, not only for this United Kingdom and group of nations to which we belong, but also for the whole world. It will depend largely on us whether the great prize is won in this war, or whether the world will once more be plunged into disaster and long years of weary waiting for the dawn. The prize is within our grasp if we have the strength of soul to see the thing through until victory crowns the efforts of our brave men in the field."

IX.

FROM A SPEECH BY GENERAL SMUTS ON "THE WAR AND EMPIRE PROBLEMS," 2 APRIL, 1917.¹⁷

"What can I modestly say about South Africa?"

¹⁷ "War-Time Speeches," pp. 1-4, *passim*.

We started this war with an internal convulsion in the country. Unlike any other parts of the Empire, we first had to set our own house in order. That was done. We secured peace and quiet in South Africa, and to-day the German flag, except in a small and fever-ridden district, is not flying south of the equator. You have to remember—I do not want to be partial, but the case of South Africa is significant for our whole position in this war—you must remember that, unlike the other Dominions, this work was done by a Dominion the majority of whose white population is not British, but Dutch. You have to remember that only fifteen years ago a very large portion of this population was locked in deadly conflict with the British Empire. And when you bear in mind these facts and see what has been achieved, I think you will agree with me that South Africa has done her share, and more than her share.

"How was this done? Here I come to the wider issue. It was done because the Boer War of 1899-1902 was supplemented, was complemented, or compensated by one of the wisest political settlements ever made in the history of this nation. . . .

"This completed what was begun in the Boer War, and it switched South Africa again on to the right track and the British Empire again on to the right track, because, after all, the British Empire is not founded on might or force, but on moral principles—on principles of freedom, equality, and equity. It is these principles which we stand for to-day as an Empire in this mighty struggle. Our opponent, the German Empire, has never learned that lesson yet in her short history. . . . The fundamental issue in this struggle in which we are engaged to-day is that the government of the world is not military, and it cannot be brought about by a military machine, but by the principles of equity, justice, fairness and equality, such as have built up this Empire."

X.

FROM A SPEECH BY GENERAL SMUTS ON "THE WAR AND THE EMPIRE," 11 APRIL, 1917.¹⁸

General Smuts said . . . that he had constantly all through the years behind them in South Africa striven for a spirit of co-operation, of sympathy, and of union between all races in that country to which he had the honor to belong. Union was inevitable in South Africa, but it has been his desire and his striving for many years that it should be such a union as that between England and Scotland, and not the sort of union they had had between England and Ireland. They had had in South Africa all the makings of an insoluble political problem; but by God's providence, and by the forbearance of both races, and their wisdom, they had in the end achieved a union which was like that between England and Scotland. Sir Robert Borden had reminded them that fifteen years ago he was fighting against the British Empire. There had been no change in him. The cause he fought for fif-

¹⁸ "War-Time Speeches," pp. 35-37.

teen years ago was the cause for which he was fighting to-day. They in this country were a large-hearted people; and he was sure they would forgive him if he expressed his view that fifteen years ago, eighteen years ago, they were wrong. For a brief moment in their long national history they went off the track, and they came to grips with a very small people; and in that struggle he did his best in order to conserve the self-existence and the liberty of his people. He was sometimes proud to think that, according to the old apostolic injunction, the Boers had heaped coals of fire upon their heads, and had been the instrument of bringing them back to the right track, to their old traditions of liberty, to the old ideal standing by small peoples, and to that consciousness of right which had guided them in the past and would guide them in the future. As soon as the British Government came to wiser counsels, they handed back to South Africa, so far as it was possible, the liberty which they in South Africa thought would be jeopardized; they made them a free country; and in that way they laid the foundation of a large and great State in South Africa. As the result of that policy adopted after the Boer War, they saw to-day a nation that fought against the British Empire with a vigor and a persistence seldom seen in the history of the world, had been and still was fighting with all its strength for the common cause. That had been brought about, and could only have been brought about, by the spirit of liberty which had been the guiding principle of British history. Sir Robert Borden had told them that in the discussions they had had among themselves privately about the future of the British Empire there was no great difference of opinion between them, and the reason was simple. They saw clearly that it was only on a basis of freedom and the completest autonomy that the British Empire would continue to exist and would become stronger in the future. The British Empire was not a State; it was half a world. It comprised old nations as well as young nations, and all the vast congeries of States could only be kept together in the future on the basis of liberty. He was sure that when the final settlement came to be made of the constitutional arrangements of the British Empire that would be found to be the only solution. The spirit of comradeship, which was the only basis of union, was there, and on that basis he was sure they would find the solution of our constitutional relations in the future, and not in mere rigid political machinery.

XI.

FROM A SPEECH BY GENERAL SMUTS BEFORE THE
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY ON THE
GERMAN AIMS IN AFRICA.¹⁰

POLICY OF GERMANY.

"It is clear from their practice in East Africa [General Smuts continued] that the Germans had decided to develop the country not as an ordinary colony,

but as a tropical possession for the cultivation of tropical raw material. They systematically discouraged white settlement. Instead, tracks of country were granted to companies, syndicates, or individuals with large capital, on condition that plantations for tropical products were cultivated. Before the war much capital had been sunk in the country in this manner, and everywhere one came across their extensive plantations. The planters were supplied with native labor under a Government system which compelled the natives to work for the planters for a very small wage during part of every year, and as native labor was thus very plentiful and cheap in this territory, with its seven and a half millions of natives, the future for the capitalist syndicates seemed rosy. No wonder that under this *corvée* system, East Africa and the Cameroon were rapidly developing into very valuable tropical assets from which in time the German Empire would have derived much of the tropical raw material for its industries.

"With regard to tropical Africa, so vast in area, so great in resources, the first consideration for its exploitation was the opening up of communications. The lakes, the Nile, and the Congo formed the principal natural links in any chains of communications, and the question was how far railways had, or would, come in to complete these chains? Two railways built during the war in the Congo territory had largely extended communications from east to west and from the centre to the south. He referred to the lines from Kambove to Bukama on the Congo, and those from Kabalo on the Congo to Albertville on Lake Tanganyika. Besides these through communications the Uganda Railway connected Lake Victoria Nyanza with the Indian Ocean at Mombasa, while, in the near future, Lake Nyasa would probably also be connected with the Indian Ocean at Kilwa, in German East Africa, and Port Amelia, in Portuguese East Africa. A railway was also in course of construction from Lobito Bay, on the Atlantic, to the Katanga copper areas, already reached from the south and east by the railways from Cape Town and Beira. It was, therefore, clear that the opening up of Central Africa eastwards, westwards, and southwards to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans had proceeded rapidly.

"The question remained as to the communication to the Mediterranean, and the problem was how to connect Lake Albert with the Central and South African systems. Three routes were possible—one wholly Belgian, one partly British and partly Belgian, and one wholly British, any of which would complete the Cape to Cairo railway, with the necessary lake and river transport wherever the Congo and Nile were practicable to steamers. It was quite probable that by one or other of these three routes, through communications from South Africa to the Mediterranean might be established within the next ten years. It was unnecessary to point out how great an impetus would be given to the exploitation of the vast industrial resources of Central Africa by the opening of these various communications, or even some of them.

¹⁰ *London Times*, weekly edition, 1 February, 1918, p. 102.

"With this vital industrial aspect of tropical Africa was wrapped up the equally important political aspect, and the two in their combination were certain to make of tropical Africa one of the great problems of future world politics. It was interesting to note how rapidly the situation had changed owing to a complete change in the geographical outlook. He would put before them two contrasted points of view on colonial world politics; first the German point of view, and, secondly, the British point of view. The Germans were not in search of colonies after the English model; they were not on the lookout for overseas homes for settlers from Germany. 'It is clear that Germany has not the old traditional English colonial point of view,' said General Smuts. 'German colonial aims are really not colonial, but are entirely dominated by far-reaching conceptions of world politics. Not colonies, but military power and strategic possessions for exercising world power in future are her real aims. Her ultimate object in Africa was the establishment of a great Central African empire, comprising not only her colonies before the war, but also all the English, French, Belgian, and Portuguese possessions south of the Sahara and Lake Chad and north of the Zambesi River in South Africa. Towards this objective she was steadily marching even before the war broke out, and she claims the return of her lost African colonies at the end of the war as a starting-point from which to resume the interrupted march. Or rather, as appears from Count Hertling's recent pronouncement, they claim a re-allocation of the world's colonies, so that she may have a share commensurate with her world position.'

"This Central African block, the maps of which are now in course of preparation and printing at the Colonial Office in Berlin, is intended, in the first place, to supply the economic requirements and raw materials of German industry; and in the second, and far more important, place, to become the recruiting ground for vast native armies, the great value of which has been demonstrated in the tropical campaigns of this war, and especially in East Africa, while the natural harbors on the Atlantic and Indian Oceans would supply the naval and submarine bases from which both ocean routes would be dominated, and British and American sea power would be brought to naught. The native armies will be useful in the next great war, to which the German General Staff is already devoting serious attention, as appears from the recently published book of General von Freytag, Deputy Chief of the German General Staff, 'Deductions of the World War.' The untrained lives of the young of South Africa will go down before these German-trained hordes of Africans, who will also be able to deal with North Africa and Egypt without the deflection of any white troops from Germany, and they will in addition man the great army planted on the flank of Asia whose forces could be felt throughout all the Middle East as far as Persia, and who knows how much farther?

"This is the grandiose scheme. It is no mere

fanciful picture, but based on the writings of great German publicists, professors, and high colonial authorities, and chapter and verse would be quoted in the fullest detail for every feature of the scheme. The civilization of the African natives and the economic development of the Dark Continent must be subordinated to the most far-reaching schemes of German world power and world conquest; the world must be brought in subjection to German militarism, and as in former centuries, so, indeed, again, the African native must play his part in the new slavery.

THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW.

"The point of view of the British Empire,' remarked General Smuts, 'was very different indeed. In the first place, it never had any military ambitions apart from the measure of sea power essential to its continued existence. In Africa it had never militarized the natives, and had always opposed any such policy. Indeed, no impartial person could deny that, so far from exploiting the natives, either for military or industrial purposes, British policy had, on the whole, for a very long stretch of years had a tender regard for native interests, and its results had on the whole been beneficial to the natives in their gradual civilization.'

"In shaping this wise policy British statesmen had had a very long and wide African experience to guide them, and in consequence they had avoided the very dangerous and dubious policies which the German newcomers had set in motion, and among these not the least dangerous was to regard the native primarily as raw material to be manufactured into military power and world power.

"In the second place, the objects pursued by British policy on the African continent were inherently pacific and defensive. We desired no man's territory, and only to live in peace and develop the great African territories and populations entrusted to our care. The British Empire was far and away the greatest African Power, and no other Power had interests on that continent at all comparable with it. And looking at the future from the broadest points of view, looking at the magnitude of its Imperial African interests and the future welfare of the vast native populations, and its difficult task of civilizing the Dark Continent; looking, further, upon Africa as the half-way house to India and Australasia, the British Empire asked only for peace and security—internal peace and security of its external communications. It could not allow the return of conditions which meant the militarization of the natives and their employment for schemes of world power; it could not allow naval and submarine bases to be organized on both sides of the African coast to the endangerment of the sea communications of the Empire and the peace of the world. And it must insist on the maintenance of conditions which would guarantee through land communications for its territories from one end of the continent to the other. The British Empire was not like Germany, Russia, or the

United States, a compact territorial entity; it was scattered over the globe and entirely dependent upon the maintenance of communication for its continued existence. And in future these lines of communication should proceed not only by sea, but by land.

"One of the most impressive lessons of this vast war was the vulnerability of sea power and sea communications through the development of under-water transport, and the immense importance of railroad communication. In fact, to be really effective, the two should go hand-in-hand. Nor were we at the end of the chapter in discovering new means of transportation. It was not only conceivable, but probable, that aerial navigation might revolutionize the present situation beyond anything dreamed of to-day. And all these considerations pointed to the necessity of our exercising wise forethought for the future, and securing the communications of the Empire by every legitimate means.

THE GERMAN COLONIES.

"I do not wish to say anything to-night," General Smuts concluded, 'about the disposal of East Africa or other German colonies after the war. The Prime Minister has spoken on this subject for the Government, and I have nothing to add except this general consideration—as long as there is no real change of heart in Germany, and no final and irrevocable break with militarism, the law of self-preservation must be

considered paramount. No fresh extension of Prussian militarism to other continents and seas should be tolerated; and the conquered German colonies can only be regarded as guarantees, as securities for the future peace of the world. This opinion will be shared, I feel sure, by the vast bulk of the young nations who form the Dominions of the British Empire. They have no military aims or ambitions. Their tasks are solely the tasks of peace; their greatest interest and their aim is peace. Voluntarily they joined in this war, and to their effort is largely due the destruction of the German Colonial Empire, and consequent prevention of the German military system being spread to the ends of the earth. They should not be asked to consent to the restoration to a militant Germany of fresh footholds for militarism in the southern hemisphere, and thus endanger the future of their young and rising communities, who are developing the waste spaces of the earth. They want a new Monroe Doctrine for the South, as there has been a Monroe Doctrine for the West, to protect it against European militarism. Behind the sheltering wall of such a doctrine, they promised to build up a new, peaceful world, not only for themselves, but for the many millions of black folk entrusted to their care.' "

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